THE MUGHAL SUBAH OF LAHORE 1581-1751 :

A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND PRACTICES

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C O N T E N T S

PREFACE

Punjab, since the dawn of history, has occupied a position of paramount significance in the affairs of the Sub-continent. However, the various aspects and phases of its medieval history have received lop-sided attention. Researchers have concentrated their scholarly efforts on the development of Sikh religion under the stewardship of the ten gurus, the persecution of the militant Sikhs at the hands of the Mughal administration, the evolution of the Sikh Misls, the emergence of the first Sikh monarchy under Ranjit Singh, the administrative institutions of the Sikhs and their rulers. Obviously, there has been a tendency to equate the history of the region with that of a community.

Here, it needs to be emphasized that the political and administrative control of Punjab, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, remained in the hands of the Mughals. It was mainly this aspect of the history of Punjab which has remained neglected. Two works, namely Muhammad Akbar, Punjab Under the Mughals (1948) and B.S. Nijjar, Punjab Under the Great Mughals (1968) have, to some extent, covered some aspects of the Mughal rule in the province.

Being the pioneers in the field they broke new ground but did not specifically cover the integrated Mughal subah of Lahore, as such.

The present dissertation seeks to study the structure and working as well as the problems and policies of the Mughal administration in the subah of Lahore. By its very nature, it is a many-faced undertaking. For, in view of the strategic importance of the province, a firm control over it was considered essential for the security of the Mughal empire. Adequate military, administrative and diplomatic measures were undertaken to defend the north-western frontier from actual and potential invaders. Also, imperial authority was imposed on the ever-rebellious tribes inhabiting the upper Sind Sagar Doab and the area west of the Indus. Moreover, the numerous autonomous hill states existing on the north-eastern border of the province were reduced to a position of vassalage. Furthermore, the provincial administration faced a tough challenge from the Sikhs, who were forced by political and ecobomic factors to take up arms against it. All these factors, taken together, exerted a considerable influence in determining the character of the Mughal administration in the subah of Lahore.

During the course of collection of source-materials for the above theme, it was found that the

subah of Lahore not only produced an abundant quantity of crops and non-agricultural goods, but also provided for an extensive movement of trade, that the province was inhabited by people belonging to diverse religious groups -- Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians -- who made distinct contributions to the socio-religious milieu, that religious differences amohg the various communities, sometimes, led to social tensions of considerable magnitude. It is quite apparent that a study of these aspects could not be divorced from a discussion on the structure and working of the provincial administration.

Thus, the work is a comprehensive study of the Mughal subah of Lahore, right from its inception as a clearly demarcated administrative unit to the time when it ceased to be ruled by the Mughals. Since, too excessive a concentration on any one aspect of the subject at the cost of another was likely to lead to a misrepresentation of the whole, it has been considered appropriate to view the area under study from all possible angles, taking into account the limitations imposed by the availability of source-materials. The effort has been at an integrated study of the political, social and economic developments in the region, keeping in view the larger developments taking place simultaneously in the Mughal empire as a whole.

I have had the privilege to prepare this dissertation under the inspiring supervision of my revered teacher, Dr.R.C. Jauhri, Professor of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh. He guided me consistently with meticulous care, perseverence and enthusiasm. But for his encouragement and advice at every step, it would not have been possible for me to complete this task. I take this opportunity to register my deep sense of gratitude to him.

I feel greatly indebted to the late Mr.Kishori Lal Chopra (of Jalandhar) from whom I learnt whatever knowledge of Persian I have acquired, which enabled me to earn a graduate's degree in the language. It is a matter of deep regret that he is not alive today to see the outcome of his efforts.

I am gr-ateful to Maharaj-Kumar Dr.Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau, who readily placed his valuable personal library (now called, Shri Natnagar Shodh Samsthan) at my disposal. I fondly remember the interest shown by him in my well-being during the course of my four visits to Sitamau.

I am thankful to Prof. K.A. Nizami, Chairman, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, who granted me permission to work at

the Research Seminar Library. One of his students, Mr. Iqbal Sabir, went out of his way to help me in a variety of ways during my three sojourns at Aligarh. I, hereby thank him from the core of my heart.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratefulness to S.Harnarinder Singh, Principal, Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jalandhar City, who allowed me to proceed on study-leave as and when desired by me.

During the course of my research-work, I received the assistance of a number of distinguished scholars, colleagues and friends :Prof. Z.U. Malik, Dr. Muzaffar Alam, Dr. Manohar S. Ranawat, Dr.B.S. Nijjar, Dr.K.L. Sachdeva, Dr.P.S. Bedi, Dr.Maninder S.Hundal and Mr. Dilbagh Singh Dhami. I am indeb-ted to them.

My parents supported me silently for a period of over two decades, without expecting anything in return. The least I can do is to bow my head in reverence to them. At this moment, I must also remember my wife, Paramjit, who willingly allowed herself to be neglected during the preparation of this thesis.

I acknowledge with gratitude the co-operation extended to me by the staff of the various institutions, where I had the opportunity to study : Panjab University Library (Rare Book section), Chandigarh ; Dwarka Das

Library, Chandigarh ; Shri Natnagar Shodh Samsthan (Raghubir Library), Sitamau ; Research seminar Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh ; Maulana Azad Library (Manuscript section), A.M.U., Aligarh ; Hardyal Municipal Public Library (Hardinge Library), New Delhi ; Library of Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi ; Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar ; Guru Nanak Dev University Study Centre, Jalandhar City and Guru Nanak Library, Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jalandhar City.

Last but not least, my thanks are due to Mr. Ravi Kant Bhardwaj (Proprietor, Jyoti Commercial College, Jalandhar Cantt), who took great pains to type the entire manuscript with diligence.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ahkam	Ahkam-i-Alamgiri
Akhbarat	Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla
Ain	Ain-i-Akbari
A.N.	Akbar Namah
Badauni	Muntakhab-ul-Lubab
Barani	Tarikh-i-Ferozeshahi
Bernier	Travels in the Mogul Empire
Bib.Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica
Dabistan	Dabistan-i-Mazahab
De Laet	The Empire of the Great Mogol
D.G.	District Gazetteer
E.& D.	History of India as Told by its own Historians
E.F.	The English Factories in India
Farishta	Tarikh-i-Farishta
Haqiqat	Haqiqat-i-Bina-O-Uruj-i-Firqah-i-Sikhan
Iradat Khan	Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan
Kambo	Amal-i-Saleh
Kamwar Khan	Tazkirat-us-Salatin Chaghta
Khafi Khan	Muntakhab-ul-Lubab
Khulasat	Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh

ABBREVIATIONS : Contd.

Lahori	Badshah Nama
Manucci	Storia do Mogor
Minhaj	Tabakat-i-Nasiri
Moneserrate	Mangolicae Legationis Commentarius
M.U.	Maasir-ul-Umara
Pelsaert	Jahangir's India
Rukaat	Rukaat-i-Alamgiri
Siyar	Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin
T.A.	Tabakat-i-Akbari
Tavernier	Travels in India
Tazkira	Tazkira-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
Waris	Badshah Nama

Chapter I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Constituting the north-western extremity of the Indian Sub-continent and possessing a vast fertile plain, Punjab[1] has, since time immemorial offered itself for settlement to the warrior-nomad tribes of Central Asia - the Aryans, the Persians, the Scythians, the Sakas, the Hunas etc. However, the first lasting contact of this region with the Muslim world took place through the Turks, who had established the kingdom of Ghazni in the heart of Afghanisatn in 962 A.D. Here an attempt is being made to survey the major political developments in Punjab, from the Ghaznavide occupation to 1581, when the various Mughal subahs were created and organised on scientific lines.

It would be appropriate to examine briefly the political condition of Punjab on the eve of the first contact with the Ghaznavide Turks. East of the principality of Ghazni, lay the powerful Hindushahi kingdom of Ohind.[2] It was founded some time in the middle of the nith century by Brahmin sovereigns,

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1 It may be stated at the outset that the area comprising the Mughal subah of Lahore - enclosing the five Doabs between the Indus and Satluj, with Multan and Kashmir excluded - was not organised as a single political and administrative unit prior to 1581. In tracing the historical background of this region from the Ghaznavide occupation to 1581, the author has been constrained to designate it as Punjab, on account of the absence of a more appropriate term.

2 Situated on the right bank of the Indus, about 15 miles above Attock.

who had adopted the profession of arm.[3] It appears that the Hindushahi kingdom did not exercise its sway over the whole of Punjab. The existence of Independent chieftains of Bhera, Lahore and Jalandhar, is evident during the rule of the Hindushahis.[4] It seems that the kingdom during the reign of Jaipal, stretched from Lamghan to the river Chenab.[5] Kashmir, Multan and Sind were thus outside its political spheres. Nevertheless, the Hindushahis struggled desperately to check the Ghaznavide onslaught for a period of about half a century. They were enabled to perform a difficult task by the prosperous condition of their kingdom, which is borne out by the immense booty that repeatedly accrued to the Ghazanavides.

Subuktigin, the ruler of Ghazni, had succeeded in annexing the territory between Lamghan and Peshawar after two successive victories over Jaipal.[6] His imperialistic policy was followed by his successor, Mahmud (998-1030), whose Indian campaigns are too well-known to be repeated here. Each successive raid took him deeper into the heart of the country and impressed upon him the need of occupying this rich province to serve as a base for his subsequent expeditions to the east, and also help in

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3 Pandey, D.B., The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab, p.30.

4 Habib, M., Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, p.24 ; Nazim, M., Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, p.195.

5 Nazim, op.cit., p.29.

6 Farishta, I, p.20.

maintaining uninterrupted communication with his capital.[7] The annexation of Punjab to the Ghaznavide empire was formalised in 1022, when Mahmud struck a coin at Lahore, to which he gave the name of Mahmudpur.[8]

Punjab remained under Ghaznavide occupation for more than a century and a half. But on account of various factors, peace and stability was denied to it. Mahmud had devised a novel administrative arrangement for it. With a view to avoid concentration of authority in one hand, he divided the civil and military powers between two officers, who were to act independently.[9] The system, however, proved to be unworkable ; it plunged the whole region into turmoil. It was discontinued in 1037 by the appointment of a royal Prince as governor, with supreme command of civil and military affairs.[10] However, the matters did not improve. Threatened by the rising power of the Seljuqs in Central Asia, the Ghaznavide ruler was forced to abandon his capital and leave for Lahore in 1040, bag and baggage.[11] Though Ghazni was recovered subsequently, the situation took a turn for the worse. For, the next twenty years witnessed the Ghaznavide kingdom passing through the ordeal of a civil war, in which the participation of Lahore was in

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7 Habib, op.cit., p.46.

8 Thomas, E., The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p.47.

9 Habib, op.cit., p.94.

10 Farishta, I, p.42.

11 Minhaj, I, (Tr.), p.95.

no way less significant than that of Ghazni, and in which as many as seven occupants of the throne fell in quick succession. This state of affairs provided an opportunity to the Hindu Chieftains to organise a confederacy, which outsted the Turkish garrisons from Hansi, Thanesar and Nagarkot in 1043. Following in their footsteps, three native chiefs of Punjab, with 10,000 horse and innumerable foot, besieged Lahore for about seven months, though without success.[12]

The decline in the affairs of the Ghaznavides was arrested towards the close of the eleventh century ; a certain amount of stability appeared on the scene, so that a governor of Punjab was found penetrating deep into the territories of the chieftains of Hindustan, hitherto untouched by Turkish arms.[13] Such adventures could not be allowed for all times, for the riches so acquired, often encouraged provincial governors to harbour rebellious designs. Muhammad Bahalim, the governor of Punjab is a case in point.[14] The real threat to the Ghaznavides lay in their own homeland, from where they were outsted by the Ghorides in the middle of the twelfth century. Forced to fall

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12 Farishta, I, pp. 44-45.

13 Minhaj, I, (Tr.), p.107.
It has been suggested that the pressure maintained by the Ghaznavide governors of Punjab on the Hindu states of the Gangetic valley, indirectly faciliated the Muslim occupation of the area in the beginning of the 13th century; See Habibullah, A.B.M., The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, p.47.

14 Farishta, I, p.50.

back on Punjab, like many times in the past, they continued a miserable existence till 1186, when Punjab was annexed by Sultan Muizzuddin to the new kingdom of Ghazni.[15]

For the Ghaznavides, the possession of Punjab held secondary importance only. Habib has aptly remarked that Mahmud 'seems to have looked at Lahore and Multan simply as robbers perches, from where he could plunge into Hindustan and Gujrat at will.'[16] His successors were too deeply involved in internicine warfare or defending their kingdom against external threats ; they found no time to consolidate their gains over Punjab or other conquered areas. To the successors of Mahmud, Punjab served as a place of refuge whenever they were swept away by the flood of hostile political forces - the Sel-juqs and the Ghorides.

The motives which guided Mahmud in his annexation of Punjab are discernible in a similar action on the part of Muizzuddin, ~~'Muizzuddin now~~ who had his military stations from Debal to Sialkot and from Peshawar to Lahore. An important aspect of his conquest, which is generally lost sight of, is the consolidation of his power in Sind and the Punjab before he embarked on a war with the Rajput kingdoms. That this whole area was to act as one unit is clear from the fact that Ali Karmakh, who was the sipah-salar and wali of Multan, was stationed at Lahore. While

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15 Minhaj, I, (Tr.), p.115.

16 Habib, op.cit., p.77.

Ali Karmakh was the military and executive chief of the area, the duties of judicial administration were assigned to Maulana Sirajuddin, father of the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri -'.[17] An account of the military campaigns of Muizzuddin and his slave-generals is beyond the scope of the present study. Suffice it to say that by their incessant expeditions they had occupied the vast tract of land from the Indus to the Brahmputra in a period of about three decades.

The affairs of Punjab came to the forefront immediately after the death of Muizzuddin in 1206. Three salve-officers of the late Sultan - Tajuddin Yaldoz in Ghazni, Nasiruddin Qubacha in Multan and Uch, and Qutbuddin Aibak in Delhi - were locked in a deadly contest for the possession of Punjab. Though Aibak stole a march over his rivals by occupying Lahore, and followed up his success by a triumphant march into Ghazni,[18] the dispute could not be solved during his lifetime. Iltutmish inherited not only Aibak's territory but also his problems. His victory over Yaldoz (1215-1216) gave him only a precarious hold over Punjab.[19] For, the situation was made doubly complicated by the entry of the fugitive Khwarizmian prince, Jalaluddin Mongbarni, followed by a vast horde of the Mongols under Chengiz Khan. "The Panjab and Upper Sind Sagar Doab now became a cockpit of struggle between the generals of Chengiz,

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17 Habib, M. and Nizami, K.A., (Eds), A Comprehensive History of India, Vol.V, p.158 ; Minhaj, I, (Tr), p.456.

18 Minhaj, I, (Tr.), pp.526-527 ; Farishta, I, p.63,

19 Minhaj, I, (Tr.), p.608 ; T.A., I, (Tr.), p.65.

Qubacha, Mangbarni and, to some extent, the Khokhars."[20] By shrewd diplomatic moves and stern military measures, Iltutmish succeeded in acquiring control over most of Punjab by 1228.

The dominating factor determining the fortunes of this region during the thirteenth and the early decades of the fourteenth centuries, was the growing Mongol menace. The presence of Hasan Qarlugh, a Khwarizmian officer, close to the west of the Indus and the predatory activities of the tribes of the Salt Range, made matters worse. The causes of such a situation are not far to seek. The failure of the Delhi Sultans to extend their sway upto the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandhar line ~~line~~, the so-called scientific frontier of India,[21] and the inability to defend the north-western passes, exposed Punjab to recurring Mongol inroads. The successors if Iltutmish were too involved in a struggle for survival against the powerful Turkish nobility to give adequate attention to the problem; more so when the governors like Kabir Khan Ayaz, the iqtadar of Lahore, adopted a defiant attitude towards the central authority (1239). An attempt, if any, made to extend military aid to the frontier provinces, was sometimes frustrated by the vested interests of the nobility.[22] For instance Malik Qaraqash, the governor of Lahore failed to get the much-

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20 Habib and Nizami, op.cit., p.216.

21 Habibullah, op.cit., p.169.

22 Minhaj, I, (Tr.), p.658 ; Nizami, K.A., Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century, p.138.

needed assistance from Delhi on the eve of the sack of Lahore at the hands of Tair Bahadur in 1241. As if this was not enough, the conspiratorial activities of the rival factions within the nobility, forced the officers posted at the frontier to go over to the Mongols. Sher Khan Sunqar and Kishlu Khan defected to the Mongols at one time or the other. Jalaluddin Masud, a prince of the royal blood was able to establish himself as a Mongol satellite, in the area between Lahore and the Salt Range, around 1253. It is no wonder that as a result of the constant pressure of the Mongols, created by the above factors, the north-western boundary of the Ṣultanat continued to recede from the Indus to the Chenab in 1239, to the Ravi in 1241 and to the Beas in 1257.[23]

The circumstances in which it was placed, the Ṣultanat of Delhi had no alternative but to reconcile itself to the loss of the whole of western Punjab to the Mongols. With a view to defend itself against further inroads, the Ṣultanat even took some initiative to befriend the Mongols.[24] However, with the accession of Balban, a vigorous policy was initiated vis-a-vis the Mongols.[25] It seems to have met with limited success only. For, despite the achievements attributed to Sher Khan Sunqar[26]

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23 Habibullah, op.cit., pp.176-181.

24 Minhaj, II, (Tr.), p.862 ; Habibullah, op.cit., p.183.

25 Nizami, op.cit., p.333.

26 Barani (p.65) wrote that for thirty years since the death of Iltutmish Sher Khan stood up as a strong bulwark against the Mongol inroads.

and the personal heroism connected with the name of Sultan Muhammad,[27] the north-western boundary of Punjab remained where it it was before Balban's accession namely the river Beas, as is evident from Barani's account.[28] After all, it was a defensive policy and the extension of the frontier towards the Indus was not and could not be the objective. Jalaluddin Khalji's attempt to conciliate the Mongols -- by allowing 4000 of them to settle near Delhi and by marrying his daughter to Alaghu, a grandson of Chengiz Khan -- has to be seen in the same light.[29]

The span of ten years between 1296 and 1306 stands out as the period of maximum Mongol activity, no less than six incursions having taken place. It is true that they were beaten back on all occasions, yet the very fact that they were able to penetrate as far as Delhi almost invariably, indicates a definite laxity and weakening of the defence system built up in the preceeding years. Or could it be that, having been ravaged continously for a period of seventy five years, Punjab had been deprived of all its richness and prosperity, and therefore, had

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27 Habib and Nizami, op.cit, p.299.

28 Barani (p.81) wrote, "The Mongols in those days, very often crossed the Beas to enter Indian Territory. The Sultan would send Sultan Muhammad from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samana and Malik Barbek Bektars from Delhi. They would march upto the Beas to fight back the Mongols. They came out victorious many times so that the Mongols did not date to cross that river again."

29 T.A., I.(Tr.), p.143 ; Farishta, I, p.94. ; Lal, K.S., History of the Khaljis, p.31.

ceased to fulfill the material needs of the invaders. In his search for greener pastures, the Mongol had now chosen Delhi and its environs.

The impact of the Mongol inroads into Punjab is not difficult to assess. Firstly, the Mongols had come to occupy quite a large chunk of Punjab's territory, extending from the Indus to the Beas, as referred to earlier. Therefore, they cannot be called mere plunderers. Their occupation and settlement in the salt Range for a considerable period of time is proved 'by place names like Hazara Qarlugh, Hazara Gujaran and Hazara which we find in the <u>Ain-i-Akbari</u>. Hazara was the standard Mongol division of a tuman ; and areas where Hazaras were garrisoned tend to be assigned this name."[30] Secondly, the rulers of Delhi were forced to divert all their material resources and attention for the defence of the frontier, so that they had to give up all thought of extending their sway over unconquered areas, at least till the end of the thirteenth century.[31] Thirdly, the Sultans of Delhi had to assign the governorship of the frointer areas to almost ruthlessly efficient generals. Not only this, vast military resources had to be placed at their disposal, with the help of which they could make a bid for the throne.

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30 Athar Ali, Presidential Address,(Medieval Section), <u>Proceedings, Punjab History Conference, Patiala,1982</u>,p.81.

31, For Balban's clear declaration to that effect, See,Barani, p.51 ; <u>T.A.</u>,I,(Tr.),p.98.

This was actually achieved by Jalaluddin Khalji and Ghazi Malik. Even Khizr Khan and Bahlol Lodi considered it necessary to gain a strong foothold in Punjab before they aspired for kingship. It was the fear of such a possibility which forced Balban to divide the governorship of the north-western provinces between his two sons. Jalaluddin Khalji's appointment of his son, Arkali Khan, as the governor of Lahore, Multan and Sind was not a mere coincidence.[32]

But the most important result of the Mongol depredations was that the whole region extending from the Satluj to the Indus with Lahore as its centre was relegated to political background -- a situation which, possibly, resulted from the loss of economic prosperity, as referred to earlier. In comparison, Multan, Dipalpur, Sunam and Samana gained considerable importance during the fourteenth century. Significantly, this was the route taken by Timur during his march to Delhi in 1398; on his return, too, he journeyed along the Siwaliks avoiding the hitherto rich plain, comprising the five doabs.

Apart from the Mongols, a number of war-like tribes also played an important role in shaping the destiny of the region under study.[33] The Khokhars, a tribe of obscure origin, and characterised by the possession of strong martial instincts,

32 Farishta,I,p.94.

33 Jats, Khokhars,Bhattis, Minas and Mandahars were inflicted severe chastizement by Sher Khan Sunqar ; See,Barani, p.65.

deserve our special attention.[34] As a tribe of varying Rajput and Jat status, the Khokhars were most numerous along the valleys of the Jehlam and the Chenab, and especially in the Jhang and Shahpur districts. They were also found, though in smaller numbers, on the lower Indus and the Satluj, especially in Lahore, and also all along the foot of the hills from the Jehlam to the Satluj.[35]

At the opening of the period of our study, the Khokhars were found joining hands with Indian rulers in their struggle against the Turkish invaders. In 1008 A.D., 30,000 of them fought desperately as a part of the confederacy of Indian rulers led by Anandpal against Mahmud of Ghazni.[36] In 1185, they helped Khusro Malik, the last Ghaznavide ruler of Lahore, in besieging the fort of Sialkot, then under Ghoride occupation.[37] It is evident that it was the instrinct of self-preservation that motivated the Khokhars to follow this particular course of action ; they feared the loss of their own independence in the event of foreign occupation of Punjab.

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34 Gulati,G.D., 'The Khokhars : Their Origin and Inhabitation During the Pre-Mughal Times' ; Proceedings, Punjab History conference, Patiala,1982,p.87.

35 Rose,H.A.,A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.II,p.539 ; Aslo, Ibbetson,D.,Punjab Castes,p.172.

36 Farishta,I,p.26 ; the author mentions the Khokhars wrongly as Gakkhars,M.Habib has apparently followed Farishta; Habib,op.cit., pp.29,30,31 ; See Rose,, H.A.,op.cit.,pp.540,544 ; also Saran,P., Studies in Medieval Indian History,p.192.

37 Minhaj,I,(Tr.),p.455 ; Farishta,I,p.52 ; T.A.,I,(Tr.),p.37.

With the establishment of the Turkish Sultanat of Delhi, the Khokhars underwent a change of heart. Henceforth, they appear as the inveterate foes of the imperial authority, ever-ready to align themselves with the enemies of the Sultanat -- the invaders from the north-west or the disaffected provincial officers at home. In 1205, they challenged unsuccessfully the Ghoride occupation of Punjab by raising a revolt of considerable magnitude, in concert with Rai Sal, a chief of the Salt Range.[38] They were also suspected of having a hand in the assassination of Sultan Muizzuddin. Later on(C.1221) Rai Khokhar Sankin, one of the Khokhar chiefs, gave his daughter in marriage to Jalaluddin Mangbarni, the fugitive Khwarizmian prince and helped the latter in his war with Nasiruddin Qubacha.[39] Again in 1245, when the Mongols led by Mangutah crossed the Indus and marched down to uch, Jaspal Sihra, a (Khokhar) chief of the Salt Range acted as his guide.[40]

It is obvious that the rulers of Delhi could not allow the Khokhars to carry on their disruptive activities. Balban's punitive expedition to the Salt Range (1247) which was marked by great severity, was probably directed to punish Jaspal Sihra.[41] Also during the early years of his reign, Balban took another army

38 Minhaj,I,(Tr.),p.481 ; T.A.,I,(Tr.),p.41.

39 Habib and Nizami,op.cit,pp.216-217 ; Habibullah,op.cit.,p.173.

40 Minhaj,I,(Tr.),p.667.

41 ibid., 678 ; Farishta,I,p.71.

to the same region, which was completely devastated. Horses, in such numbers were acquired as booty, that their prices went as low as thirty to forty tankas.[42]

When Ghazi Malik, the governor of Dipal-pur, made a bid for the throne of Delhi (1320) he was actively supported by three Khokhar chiefs, Sahij Rai, Gulchandra and Niju.[43] In 1342, Gulchandra whose valour and devotion had brought the Tughlaqs to power, revolted in alliance with Malik Halajun. They killed Malik Tatar Khurd, the governor of Lahore, but were themselves defeated by Khwaja Jahan.[44]

Now, it is quite evident that the Khokhars had been appearing constantly on the political scene ever since the Muslims first set their foot on the soil of Punjab. But what is of singular interest and significance is that the Khokhars never acted independently. They were content to assume only a subordinate role. For, they aligned themselves invariably with some superior political force -- the native chiefs, the Khwarizmians, the Mongols or the disaffected nobles of the Sultanate -- to achieve their aims whatsoever. Despite an experience of over three hundred years in active politics, they did not feel themselves strong (or wise) enough to embark on an independent political course.

However, with the decline of the imperial authority following the death of Feroze Tughlaq in 1388, the Khokhars appears

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42 Barani, pp. 59-60; T.A., I, (Tr.), p.101.

43 Habib and Nizami, op.cit., pp.452-454.

44 Yahya Ahmed Sirhindi, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, p.106.

to have given up their subordinate role. They rose in revolt under the leadership of Shaikha Khokhar and occupied Lahore in 1394, something which they never did before.[45] Though defeated by Sarang Khan, the governor of Dipalpur and forced to flee to the hills of Jammu,[46] he seems to have re-established himself at Lahore, apparently with the approval of Timur, to whom he had submitted.[47] The latter, on his onward journey to Delhi, had, as referred to earlier, taken a route passing through Multan, Dipalpur, Sunam and Samana. On his return, he marched through the Siwaliks, Kangra and Jammu, exacting contributions from the petty hill chieftains. Finding that Shaikha Khokhar had adopted a defiant attitude towards him, Timur got him captured and beheaded. Before leaving for Samarqand, he assigned Lahore, Multan and Dipalpur to Khizr Khan,[48] who went on to lay the foundation of the Sayyid dynasty at Delhi.

The power of the Khokhars reached its zenith under Jasrath, who dominated the political stage of Punjab for a period of over two decades (1420-1441). It is not our purpose to narrate his exploits chronologically. Suffice it to say that, encouraged by the weakness of the imperial authority which had been paralysed by the blows of Timur, and emboldened by a success-

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45 Yahya Ahmed Sirhindi, op.cit., p.154 ; T.A., I, (Tr.), p.271.
46 Yahya Ahmed Sirhindi, op.cit., pp.157-158 ; T.A., I, (Tr.), p.273.
47 Malfuzat-i-Timuri, (Elliot and Dowson), Vol.VIII, p.473.
48 Farishta., I, p.159.

ful intervention in a civil war in Kashmir, he would swoop down at regular intervals on the rich plains of Punjab, to carry out widespread depredations in Jammu, Lahore, Dipalpur, Kalanaur, Gurdaspur, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Sirhind and Ropar. Time and again the imperial forces compelled him to take refuge in his mountain stronghold at Tilhar, a place fifty miles north of Sialkot.[49] Frequent transfers of provincial governors, the revolt of Faulad Turkbacha of Bhatinda and the incursions of Shaikh Ali of Kabul, indirectly strengthened Jasrath's position, so that at one time (1432), he had Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, the governor of Lahore, as his prisoner.[50] Jasrath had become so invincible that Bahlol Lodi, who was appointed the governor of Lahore and Dipalpur in 1441, sought to befriend, rather than chastize the arch rebel.[51] However despite all his heroic exploits and brilliant adventures, it has to be admitted that Jasrath failed to lay the foundation of a Khokhar state. Content to play hide and seek with the imperial commanders, he was a mere raider, and not a statesman.

After having made himself supreme in Lahore, Dipalpur, Sirhind and Sunam, Bahlol Lodi successfully staged a coup (1451) that installed a new dynasty in Delhi. This marked the

49 Lal, K.S., Twilight of the Sultanate, Appendix B, pp.321-322.

50 Yahya Ahmed Sirhindi, op.cit., p.225.

51 Farishta, I, p.171.

beginning of a sixty five year-long period of peace for Punjab, free from all kinds of disturbances. Ibrahim Lodi's (1517-1526) unimaginative attempt to impose the Turkish ideal of unalloyed despotism on the proud Afghan nobility, boomeranged in such a manner that the provincial governors rose in rebellion in almost all parts of the Sultanat. In Punjab, the Lodi Afghans had been reigning supreme since the days of Bahlol Lodi ; their leader, Daulat Khan Lodi had been its uncrowned king for twenty years.[52] Finding his own future unsafe in the surcharged atmosphere, he invited Babar, the ruler of Kabul, to attack Hindustan.[53]

Late in 1519, Babur crossed the Indus for the first time, brought the whole of upper Sind Sagar Doab,upto Bhera and Khushab, under his sway. He assigned the whole region to his men and secured the allegiance of the local potentates, particularly the Gakhar and Janjuha chiefs. He fixed a contribution of 400,000 Shahrukhis on the headmen and chaudharis of Bhera ; entrusted the collection of tribute to four officers. However, as soon as the invading army turned its back, the Hindustanis and Afghans outsted Hindu Beg, Babur's representative stationed at Bhera. Meanwhile, Daulat Khan Lodi detained Babur's envoy, Mulla Murshid, for several days but failed to respond favourably.[54]

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52 Tripathi,R.P., Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire,p.24.

53 Ahmed Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana,pp.87-89.

54 Baburnama,I,pp.377-391.

Daulat Khan's treasonable intentions became known to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who despatched an army to reduce the potential rebel to obedience. The imperialists reached Lahore, displaced Daulat Khan and occupied the city, only to be outsted by Babur's troops. In January 1524, Babur reached Lahore and sacked the city for two days. After the occupation of Dipalpur, he made the following arrangement for the conquered areas - Mir Abdul Aziz was posted at Lahore, Baba Qashqa Mughal and Alam Khan Lodi at Dipalpur, Khusro Kokaltash at Sialkot, and Muhammad Ali Tajik at Kalanaur, while Jalandhar and Sultanpur were placed under Daulat Khan Lodi.[55]

Babur's return prompted a disgruntled Daulat Khan to subvert the above arrangement. He began to displace Babur's representatives by force. He and his son, Ghazi Khan, raised an army of twenty to thirty thousand with the intention of attacking Lahore. However, the news of Babur's arrival at Sialkot forced him to flee and take shelter in the fort of Milwat (Malot) in the Siwalik foothills. Babur, marching by way of Kalanaur, entered the sub-montanous tract. The fort was occupied ; Daulat Khan surrendered, but his son Ghazi Khan managed to escape (January 1526). During his march to Delhi, Babur occupied a number of hill forts like Kutila, Ginguta, Harur and Kahlur.[56] The whole region from the Indus to Satluj lay at the feet of the invader paving the way for the annexation of Hindustan.

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55 Radhey Shyam, Babar, p.291.

56 Baburnama, II, pp.451-464.

Babar had assigned Kabul and Kandhar to his second son Kamran. The latter, after the death of Babar, marched into Punjab, captured its governor, Mir Yunus Ali by resorting to a stratagem, and occupied all the territories upto the Satluj. The emperor, Humayan, not only acquisced in this uncharitable act on the part of his avaricious brother, but also bestowed Hissar Firoza on him. It appears that, unlike Sultan Muizzuddin and Babar, he failed to realise the importance of this strategically situated and economically rich north-western province. Faced with the growing power of Sher Shah, he could not fall back upon the resources of this region, which had been under the control of a hostile Kamran. During the course of his flight (1540) Humayan was pursued relentlessly through Punjab by the Afghans.[57] Kamran who had been ruling over it for the past ten years, left for Kabul, while it became a part of the second Afghan empire and continued to be so till 1555.

In order to strengthen the roots of Afghan power, Sher Shah received into his service,[58] a number of Afghan tribes of Roh, an area extending from Bajaur to Sibi in Bhakkar and from Hasan Abdal to Ka bul and Qandhar.[59] It was his intention to plant Afghan colonists from Roh in the tract of land from the Nilab to

57 Abbas Khan Sarwani, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, (Tr.), pp.465-467.

58 For Sher Shah's kind treatment of Afghan tribal heads, See, Abbas Khan Sarwani, op.cit., pp.533-535.

59 Ishwari Prasad, Life and Times of Humayun, p.92, n.2.

Lahore, so that their swords might serve as a barrier against the return of the enemeies of their race.[60] On their part, the Afghans of Roh became free from wants and poverty, and regularly supplemented the military resources of the newly founded empire.[61]

Sher Shah's next problem was the chastizement of the Gakkhars, a war-like tribe, distinct from the Khokhars, and inhabiting the Upper Sind Sagar Doab,[b] constituting roughly the modern districts of Rawalpindi, Jehlam and Hazara.[62] Their friendly association with the Mughals had made them suspect in the eyes of the Afghan ruler. A punitive expedition was undertaken against them during which their territory was plundered and their chief, Rai Sarang was tortured to death,[63] while his two daughters were bestowed on Khawas Khan, the Afghan governor of Punjab.[64] However, a more significant achievement was the construction of the famous fort of Rohtas, near the hill of the Jogi Balnath, about three or four karohs from the Jehlam and sixty karohs from Lahore.[65] It was placed under the charge of Haibat Khan Niyazi with a contingent of 30,000 horse,[66] with the dual purpose of keeping

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60 Ishwari Prasad, op.cit., p.163.

61 Abbas Khan Sarwani, op.cit., p.538.

62 For details about Gakkhars, See Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol, II, pp.274-277 Ibbetson, D., Punjab Castes, pp.165-169.

63 Ishwari Prasad, op.cit., p.162.

64 Abbas Khan Sarwani, op.cit., p.539.

65 ibid., p.763 ; T.A., II, (Tr.) p.167.

66 Abbas Khan Sarwani, op.cit, p.758.

the Gakkhars in check as well as preventing the possibility of an attack by a Mughal-Gakkhar combination.

The Afghan-Gakkhar conflict did not end at that. For, when the powerful tribe of the Niyazis, led by Haibat Khan,[67] which had established itself securely in Punjab since the flight of Humayan, rose in revolt against Islam Shah, the Gakkhars came to their support in full strength. However, it has to be admitted that, it was only after two successive defeats at Ambala and Dhunkot (on the Indus) that the Niyazis were compelled to align themselves with the erstwhile enemies of the Afghans. Islam Shah, fearing the entry of Humayan from Kabul on the side of the rebels, carried on elaborate military operations in the territory of the Gakkhars lasting two years.[68] Finding themselves in dire straits, the Niyazis made a futile attempt to enter Khasmir. They were met with almost complete annihilation at the hands of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. But the Gakkhars were far from being crushed. In order to suppress them, Islam Shah made arrangements for the construction of a chain of forts, the most important of them being Mankot.[69]

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67 Following a dispute between Khawas Khan and Haibat Khan Niyazi, Sher Shah recalled the former and assigned the whole of Punjab to the latter(1543) ; Abbas Khan Sarwani, op.cit., p.600.

68 T.A.,II,(Tr.),p.187.

69 Situated in the Rachna Doab ; See, Ain,II,(Tr.)p.324. For a description of the fort,See, A.N.,p.51.

It was not the Gakkhars but the Afghans themselves who brought about the fall of their kingdom, leading to the restoration of the Mughals. The period following the death of Shershah was, no doubt, stormy but when Islam Shah died in 1554, the second Afghan empire broke up into four hostile divisions.[70] Sikandar Sur who was supreme over Punjab, stren- gthened his position by the forcible occupation of Delhi and Agra. But before he could move up to Sirhind to check the advance of the Mughals, the latter had occupied the whole of the trans-Satluj region by ousting the Afghan garrisons at various places with ease. The Mughals followed up their success by two major victories over the Afghans at Machhiwara and Sirhind.[71] The defeat of the Afghans in the second battle of Panipat (1556) re-established the Mughal empire in northern India.

Despite these achievements, the control of the Mughals over Punjab was precarious, on account of various factors. Firstly, the remnant of Afghan power had rooted itself firmly in the Siwaliks and was trying desperately, under the leadership of Sikandar Sur, to extend its sway over the rest of Punjab. Secondly, Mirza Hakim, Akbar's foster-brother, who was holding the charge of Kabul, did not only wish to emulate Kamran, but had his eyes on Hindustan

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70 Majumdar, R.C., (Ed.), The History and Culture of the Indian People Vol.VII, p.94.

71 Bayazid Biyat, Tazkira-i-Humayun-o-Akbar, pp, 190-195.

itself. Thirdly, the large number of petty hill states,[72] constituting northern and north-eastern region of Punjab, were free from imperial control. Fourthly, the new regime had not defined its relations with the Gakkhars, who had played a most destructive role in the previous reign. Fifthly, acts of insubordination on the part of a few nobles, posed a threat to the newly-established empire and disturbed the peace of Punjab.

The subsequent development in this region, for a period of twenty-five years, revolve around these problems.

Akbar's pre-occupation with Hemu had provided an opportunity to Sikandar and his allies, the zamindars of the hills, to swoop down on the plains and exact revenue contributions from the people, an act which was encouraged by Abdullah Sultanpuri, a benificiery of the Afghan rule. Khizr Khwaja Khan's attempt, like an earlier one under the command of Pir Muhammad Khan, failed to subdue the Afghan po-tentate.[73] It was only after the victory of the Mughals against the Afghans at Panipat, that Akbar marched into Punjab to put an end to Sikandar's pretensions. Punitive expeditions were sent against the hill chiefs for having joined in his depredations, while the Afghans were besieged in their stronghold of Mankot.[74]

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72 Khan, A.R., Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, p.28.

73 A.N., II, pp.46-47 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.221 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.814.

74 A.N., II, pp.50-51 ; Badauni, II, p.18 ;

After holding out for about six months, the garrison surrendered the fort to the Mughals (24 May 1957) ; Sikandar was assigned a jagir in Bihar.[75]

Bairam Khan's revolt took him to Alwar, Nagor, Bikaner and finally to Punjab, 'which was a mine of resources'.[76] About this time Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka Khan was presented with the standard, drum and tuman togh of the former vakil-us-Sultanat and entrusted with the governorship of Punjab.[77] After moving through Bhatinda and Dipalpur, Bairam Khan reached Gunachaur near Jalandhar, where he was badly mauled (23 August 1560) by the governor's troops.[78] Thereafter, he took refuge with Raja Ganesh of Talwara,[79] a principality in the Siwaliks.[80] The final operation, guided by the emperor, succeeded in securing the surrender of Bairam Khan, but not before the large number of local zamindars had been liquidated.[81]

The Gakkhars were next to be tamed. Kamal Khan, the son of the late Rai Sarang offered submission to Akbar in

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75 A.N., II, p.59.

76, ibid., p.104 ; Badauni, II, p.40.

77 A.N., II, p.95.

78 ibid., pp.111-113 ; Badauni, II, p.40 ; T.A., II(Tr.), p.246.

79 A.N., II, p.116. Badauni(Vol.IIp.43) gives the name of the Raja as Gobind Chand, so does Nizamuddin Ahmed ; T.A., II (Tr.), p.247.

80 Ain, II (Tr.), p.322 ; Khan, op.cit., p.46.

81 A.N., II, pp.117-118 ; Badauni, II, p.44.

1556 and distinguished himself in the wars against Hemu and Sikandar Sur.[82] He also served valiantly against the Miyana Afghans of Malwa and earned the jagirs of Karah, Fatehpur and Hanswah.[83] Seeing the rising fortunes of his nephew, Adam Khan, the brother of the late Rai Sarang, who was then holding all the Gakkhar territory, made haste to offer allegiance (1557) to the new regime.[84] After Kamal Khan's showing in Khan-i-Zaman's war with the son of Adli, the emperor decided to divide the Gakkhar country between Adam Khan and Kamal Khan -- obviously a shrewd move to weaken the powerful tribe so that it ceased to be a threat to the Mughals. However, when Adam Khan refused to accept the proposal, an imperial expedition under Mir Muhammad Khan, defeated and captured him (1563). Consequently all the Gakkhar territories were bestowed upon Kamal Khan.[85] The Mughals, thus, had achieved what the Afghans could not -- the loyalty of a restless and trouble-some people, who had now been assimilated into the Mughal polity.

The transfer of Atka Khail from Punjab in 1568, was a unique administrative measure. The members of this clan had been holding the charge of this important province since the revolt of Bairam Khan. During the past eight years, they seem

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82 A.N., II, p.22.

83 ibid., p.78 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.267.

84 A.N., II, p.63.

85. ibid., pp.192-193 ; Badauni, p.II, p.55 ; T.A., II, (Tr.) p.268.

to have acquired a lot of local influence and prestige, perhaps more than was good for the internal security of the empire. They could not be allowed to follow the example of the Niyazis, who had been placed in similar circumstances. Abul Fazl justified the action by saying, "Whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and speech, and show much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them, firstly for their own good and secondly for the good of the community."[86] That it was an act of wisdom, farsightedness and statesmanship, cannot be denied.

The alliance between the hill chiefs and Sikandar Sur as well as the predatory raids of the former into the plains of Punjab, forced the Mughals to realise that it was absolutely essential to suppress them, failing which the task of consolidating their newly acquired hold over the region, would be affected adversely. The Mughals followed an imperialistic policy towards them, with a view to deprive them of their autonomous status, if not territory. The chiefs of Mau, Jammu, Nadaun and Kangra were the earliest to suffer at the hands of the imperialistic offensive unleashed by the Mughals, not long after the re-establishment of their rule.[87]

The Mughal officers posted in Punjab had to do more than just look after the provincial administration. In

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86 A.N., II, p.332 ; Badauni, II, p.106.

87 For details, refer to the chapter, "The Subah of Lahore and Mughal Imperialism: The Hill States".

1564, 'the cream of Punjab troops' led by Mir Muhammad Khan marched to Kabul and re-installed Mirza Hakim, who had been outsted from his charge by Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan.[88] But the ungrateful Mirza made (1566) an attempt to occupy Lahore, which was rendered futile by the steadfastness of the provincial officers belonging to the Atka Khail.[89] The Mirza repeated his attempt in 1581, probably encouraged by the reading of the khutba in his name by the rebels in the eastern provinces, who had raised the most formidable rebellion of Akbar's reign. But Yusuf Khan and Raja Man Singh inflicted serious reverses on the invaders in different engagements and thwarted all their attempts to occupy Rohtas.[90] Thereafter, Mirza Hakim laid siege to Lahore, which was bravely defended by the governor of the province, Said Khan and the Kachhwa princes. Learning about the emperor's march towards Punjab, the Mirza retreated to Kabul.[91] Though the invader had failed in his designs on Punjab, the emperor ordered the construction of the fort of Attock-Benares, in order to strengthen the defence-system of the frontier.[92]

The foregoing narrative makes it amply clear that Punjab had been constantly undergoing political upheavals, ever

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88 A.N., II, pp.237-241.

89 ibid., pp.275-277 ; Badauni, II, p.91 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.322.

90 A.N., III, pp 336-337 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.544.

91 A.N., III, pp 344-346 ; Badauni, II, pp.292-293 ; T.A., II. (Tr.), pp.545.548.

92 A.N., III, p.355 ; Badauni, II, p.293 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.548.

since the Ghazanavides occupied it -- a situation attributable to the weakness of the Central authority, the ever-fluid conditions in Central Asia, the recurring invasions across the Indus, the unbridled ambitions of the provincial officers and the presence of independent martial races among the natives. No doubt, attempts were made to strengthen the institution of kingship, to defend the north-western frontier against the invading hordes, to check the centrifugual tendencies within the nobility, and to suppress the war-like tribes. These measures were neither adequate nor effective enough to ensure peace and stability in Punjab. The need of the time was imagination coupled with realism, a judicious use of force tinged with benevolence, and consistent efforts over a long period of time to achieve higher aims in political life. These characterstics began to appear only in the second half of the sixteenth century, when Kabul was brought within the pale of the Indian empire, the provincial officers were made to understand their position, the restless Gakkhars became ardent supporters of the realm, and the defiance of the numerous hill states was converted into submission.

KABUL
KASHMIR
OF LAHORE
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HasanAbdal
Rawalpindi
Pharhala
Rohtas
Tilla
alnath
Bhimbar
Nandana
Shamsabad
Bhera
Gujrat
Wazirabad
Jammu
Mankot
Samba
Jasrota
Lakhanpur
Paithan
Sodhra
Sialkot
Pasrur
Chamba
Dhameri
Kotla
Kangra
Guler
Kalanaur
K hnuwan
Siba
Nadaun
Mandi
Kotlehr
Batala
Amritsar
LAHORE
R. BEA
Bajwa
Kartarpur
Jalandhar
Goindwal
Patti Haibatpur
Sultanpur
Qasur
Buh
Nakodar
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ahlur
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Ro
Tihar
alwan
Firozpur
Ludhiana
Doraha
Sirhind
Ambala
Khushab
R. INDUS
Hazara
R. CHENAB
Chiniot
R. JEHLAM
R. RAVI
Shergarh
Dipalpur
Chaukhandi
Multan
R. BEAS
UTLE
ANDHAR
TAN
AJMER
DELHI


Source: Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, New Delhi, 1982, Sheet 4A.

Chapter II

FORMATION OF THE SUBAH OF LAHORE

The chequered history of Punjab from the Ghaznavide Conquest to its subjugation and consolidation under Akbar till 1581, amply shows that the region did not constitue a compact and clearly demarcated administrative unit. It is true that during this long period, high ranking executive officers, with vast military and financial resources, were regularly posted at Lahore, Multan, Uch, Dipalpur, Bhatinda, Samana and Hansi. But the number of these administrative divisions (or rather, iqtas) placed under the charge of an officer, differed with each successive appointment. This may be illustrated by a few examples. On the eve of Iltutmish's death, Malik Alauddin Jani was the muqta of Lahore.[1] Sher Khan Sunqar was assigned the iqtas of Bhatinda and the whole of its dependencies during the reign of Alauddin Masud Shah.[2] Arkali Khan, the son of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, held the governorship of Lahore, Multan and Sind.[3] In 1441, Bahlol Lodi who had made himself supreme over Sirhind, was given the additional charge of Lahore and Dipalpur.[4] Daulat Khan Lodi has been designated as the muqta of the sarkars of Lahore and Bhera.[5] According to Abbas Khan Sarwani, Sher Shah had

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1 Minhaj, (Tr.), I,p. 634.

2 Minhaj, (Tr.),II,p. 792.

3 Farishta, I, p.94.

4 ibid.,p.171.

5 Siddiqui, I.H., Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India,p.50.

appointed Haibat Khan Niyazi as the governor of Punjab and Multan.[6] Likewise, when the Mughals supplanted the Sur Afghans, they made regular appointments to the office of the governor of Punjab. In fact the contemporary chronicles yield numerous references about such appointments right from the eleventh century. However, it is not possible to delineate, with any amount of definiteness, the area placed under the charge of a governor at a given point of time. It appears that the total area assigned to an Officer for the purpose of administration, varied with his personal status as well as the need of the time.

Almost immediately after his accession, Akbar embarked on an imperialistic policy, aimed at unifying the whole country under one system of government. By effective military operations and shrewd diplomatic moves, spread over a period of twenty five years, he succeeded in establishing his sway over a major part of northern India. As a consequence, the forces which had frequently thrown Punjab into turmoil during the pre- 1556 period, were suppressed. Thus were created conditions essential for the successful implementation of a uniform pattern of provincial administration. In fact, the division of the conquered territories into well defined subahs was anticipated when, in 1575, the entire khalisa land was divided into 182 units, each of which was expected to yield a revenue of a crore of dams.[7] Though the reform was allowed to lapse, yet it clearly pointed to the manner in which the provincial administration

6 Abbas Khan Sarwani, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, (Tr.),p.778.

7 A.N. III, pp.117-118; Badauni, II,p.189.

could be organised.

In 1580, the conquered territories were divided into twelve *subahs*, Lahore being one of them. Though the number of provinces continued to increase with the expansion of the empire, yet the external boundaries of the *subah* of Lahore did not undergo any significant change as long as it existed. The prospect of the expansion of its area existed only in the numerous hill states lying along its north-eastern extremity. Though, the Mughals succeeded in imposing their suzerainty over most of them, outright annexation could not be carried out except in the case of Kangra. As such, the north-eatern border of the *subah* remained, more or less, indeterminate.

The *subah* of Lahore possessed a near triangular shape, its three sides being roughly represented by the Indus, the Satluj and the various chains of Himalayan ranges. It was bounded on the north by the *subah* of Kashmir, on the west by the *subah* of Kabul, on the south by the *subahs* of Delhi and Multan, and on the north-east by number of semi-autonomous hill states. Situated in the third climate, its length from the Indus to the Satluj was 86 *kos*.[8] The *subah* was traversed, besides the above mentioned rivers, by the Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jehlam. Rising in the northern hills, they flowed down in a south-westerly direction before joining to form the Panjnad. The interfluves or *doabs* (the area enclosed between any two rivers) were given names compounded from those of their

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8. *Ain*, II,(Tr.),p.315; *Khulasat*, p. 79.

enclosing rivers e.g. Bist, Bari, Rachna, Chaj and Sind Sagar Doabs.[9] Interestingly enough, these five doabs were recognised as the five sarkars comprising the subah of Lahore.

The Satluj rose in the mountains of Bhu Tibbat and pierced through the territories of Kulu and Bushahr. Taking a westward course it passed by the principality of Kahlur. Leaving the hills, it flowed in two branches below Makhowal, the abode of Guru Govind Rai. Then it flowed past Kiratpur, where the Sikh gurus, Hargobind and Har Rai had made their home. Before reaching Ropar, the two branches merged and moved on to Machhiwara. It crossed to the Delhi-Lahore highway near Ludhiana and flowing along Talwan and Tihara, merged with the Beas at Buh, a mauza in the parganah of Haibatpur Patti.[10] Although, it joined the Chenab about fifty miles below the city of Multan, the dry bed of Hakra which can be traced through Bahawalpur, Bikaner and Sind, formerly carried the waters of the Satluj to the sea. Next to the Indus, the Satluj was the greatest river of Punjab, with a course of 900 miles.[11] The river was said to contain crocodiles of the girth of a barrel, who could swallow human beings, buffaloes and sheep.[12]

The Beas, too, rose from a lake in the mountains of Bhu Tibbat. It passed by the town of Kulu to arrive at Mandi. Turning towards the

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9. Spate, O.H.K., India and Pakistan, p.516

10 Ain, II,(Tr.),p.315; Khulasat, p.76 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab, p.302.

11 Douie, J., The Punjab N.W.F.P. and Kashmir, pp.45-46.

12 Monserrate, p.102.

west, it passed through Suket, Sujan, Mihil Mori and arrived at the qasba of Hindun (Nadaun), the headquarters of the faujdar of Kohistan. Thereafter, it moved through Dahwal, Siba and Guler,[13] and entered the country of Nurpur. Descending from the hills, it passed by the royal hunting preserve of Kahnuwan. As it flowed southwards, it intersected the Delhi-Lahore highway at Goindwal. After merging with the Satluj at Buh, it flowed through the qasbas of Ferozepur and Mamdot and reached the sarkar of Dipalpur, where it bifurcated. The northern branch which passed through Qabula was called Beas, while the southern one was named Satluj. However, the two joined each other before entering the Baloch country.[14]

The Ravi issued from the Mahesh Parbat in the territory of Chamba, whose climate, on account of rain and snow, was like that of Kashmir and Kabul, or even Europe.[15] It flowed through Basohli and reached Shahpur, a dependency of Nurpur. After flowing past the parganahs of Pathan, Kathua, Kalanaur, Batala, Pasrur and Aminabad, it enhanced the splendour of Lahore, the provincial capital. Passing by the imperial buildings, it flowed through Sandhwan and Faridabad, and merged with the combined waters of Jehlam and Chenab at Sarai Sidhu, twenty kos above the city of Multan.[16]

Near the Kashmir foothills the country was, to some extent, undulating and diversified, and numerous streams and torrents descended

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13 Sujan Rai Bhandari has written certain place names incorrectly; see, Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, p.9.

14 Khulasat, p.76; Char Bagh-i-Punjab, pp.274-275

15 Monserrate, p.106.

16 Khulasat, p.77; Char Bagh-i-Punjab, p.218

from them. Though most of these were dissipated in the fields, the Degh whose course lay at an average distance of fifteen miles from the Ravi,[17] paralleled that river for 150 miles before entering it.[18] Rising in the hills of Jammu, it flowed through the parganahs of Daulatabad, Mehrabad, Mahesh and Faridabad before it finally joined the Ravi.[19] The Degh was most uncertain in its supply of water, being practically dependent on the fall of rain in the hills.[20]

The source of the Chenab was said to have been China. After flowing through Chamba, it reached Kishtwar where it received the water of Bhaga, a stream which came from Tibet. It was, then, called Chandra-Bhaga. It passed through the Trikuta hills of Jammu, and descended into the plains. Such was the purity of its water at this spot that it could be called ab-i-hayat (elixir of life). Thereafter the river, split into eighteen branches. But after travelling for twelve kos, they merged at the qasba of Bahlolpur. It flowed through Sialkot, Sodhra and Wazirabad, where it intersected the royal highway. Its subsequent course lay through Jaktoh, Burhiana, Bhoota Maral and Hazara, which contained the tombs of Hir and Ranjha, the legendary lovers. At Chandnot (Chaniot), it pierced its way through two large hillocks. Monserrate found the river being divided by obstacles in its course, into three branches, two of which surrounded an island, situated in the broad bed of the river.[21] It, however, merged with the

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17 D.G. Sialkot, 1883-84, p.2.

18 Spate, op.cit., p.516.

19 Khulasat, p.73.

20 D.G. Lahore, 1883-84, pp.4-5.

21 Monserrate, p.109.

Jehlam at Jhang sial, the native place of Hir.[22]

According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, the source of the Jehlam (Behat) was an old spring, twenty two kos distant from Srinagar,[23] but to Abul Fazl it was located in the parganah of Ver in Kashmir.[24] It passed through the city of Srinagar, where a number of gardens, promenades and buildings had been been laid out on its banks. From Baramula it turned westwards to enter the country of the Gakhars. During its journey, it received the waters of various streams and rivulets like the Kishanganga. It, then, turned abruptly towards the south. It flowed through Mirpur and Jehlam, where it intersected the imperial highway. Its subsequent course lay through Kirjhak, Nandana, Shamsabad, Bhera, Khushab and Khurd-khana. It united with the Chenab at Jhang Sial.[25] The Jehlam had a broad and deep bed, unfordable even to elephants.[26]

According to Abul Fazl, the source of the Indus (Sind) was situated between Kashmir and Kashgar or in China; Sujan Rai located it in the country of the Qalmaqs while Ganesh Das refers to the mountains of Greater Tibet.[27] Anyhow, the river flowed

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22 Ain, II,(Tr.),315 ; Khulasat,pp.77-78 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab,pp.167-168

23 Lahori, I (ii), p.22.

24 Ain, II,(Tr.),p.316

25 Khulasat, p.78 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab,p.158.

26 Monserrate, p.110.

27. Ain, II(Tr.)p.316 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab,pp.157-158

through Kashgar, Tibet, Kafiristan, Kashmir, Pakhli, Damtaur and entered the country of the Yasufzais. At Atak Benares, it was joined by the Kabul and Nilab along with their tributaries. Here it flowed in a narrow stream but with a tremendous amount of violence and speed. On its eastern bank was situated the fort of Attock, the only point where the river could be crossed. A number of beautiful buildings had been raised on the right bank to house the imperial officers posted there. The customs, manners, and language on the eastern bank were Indian while on the other bank they were entirely Afghan. Striking against the Khatak hills, the Indus flowed past the Sambal and Baloch territories. Near Multan, the five rivers of Punjab merged in it to give it the appearance of a veritable sea. Thereafter, it mingled with the ocean at Lahri Bandar, after passing through Bhakkar, Siwistan and Thatta.[28]

The area enclosed between the Satluj and Beas, which were separated by a distance of fifty <u>kos</u>,[29] was called the Bet Jalandhar Doab. As its plain area left the Siwaliks, it exhibited a gentle slope towards the south --- an inevitable result of the silt brought down by the hill torrents. With the exception of the dry and unproductive tract along the western slopes of the Siwaliks called the Kandi,[30] the whole of the Doab consisted of an uninterrupted expanse of alluvial soil, considered to be the garden

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28 <u>Khulasat</u>, pp.78-79 ; Monserrate, pp.121-122

29 <u>Ain</u>, II, (Tr.), p.316

30 <u>D.G. Hoshiarpur</u>, 1904, p.3.

of Punjab. It received the drainage of the Siwaliks, the natural channels of which united in two streams known as the East or White Bein and West or Black Bein.[31] The former ran roughly parallel to the Satluj while the latter did so to the Beas.

The Bari Doab was the narrowest of the five Doabs ; its width was only seventeen kos.[32] Its upper portion, called 'bangar' being sub-montanous in character, was cut up by numerous mountain torrents, the most important of which was the Chakki. Narrow at its commencement, the bangar or the upland tract rapidly increased in width until it occupied the whole space between the Beas and Ravi.[33] The central portion of the Doab centred round the British districts of Amritsar and Lahore, constituted the celebrated land of Majha, the home of the Jat-Sikhs,. It presented the appearance of a continuous level plain, sloping to the north-west from the high right bank of the Beas to the left bank of the Ravi. The prevailing soil was a light reddish-yellow loam, known to the people as maira.[34] Another important feature of the Doab was the numerous drainage lines, called rohi, which were merely depressions in the surface of the country in which the rain water collected to stay but did not run in streams except when the rains were heavy. The principal drainage lines were the Hudiara nala, Kaur nala and Patti nala.[35]

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31 D.G. Jalandhar, 1904, p.7.

32 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.316.

33 D.G. Gurdaspur, 1883-84, pp.1-4.

34 D.G. Amritsar, 1914, pp.1-2.

35 D.G. Lahore, 1883-84, p.5.

The thirty kos vide tract between the Ravi and Chenab was known as the Rachna Doab.[36] With the exception of the low valleys of alluvial soil carved by the Ravi, Chenab and Degh, the upper portion of the Doab was a level plain. However, a somewhat elevated plateau stood midway between the Chenab and Ravi, sloping gradually towards the rivers. Several water courses (nalas) -- the Aik, Lunda, Badiana, Palkhu, Nilwa and Dhan -- served the purpose of carrying the surface drainage, receiving little water from the hills.[37] This tract was said to have excelled 'all others in the north for beauty and fertility, for the variety of its gardens and for the number of its hamlets and villages.'[38] However, these conditions gradually declined towards the lower section of the Doab, the rich soil of the sub-montane region merging into a waterless and sterile plain, known as the bar.[39]

The Chenhat Doab was enclosed between the Chenab and Jehlam, which stood twenty kos apart from each other.[40] It northern part was covered with sand and rubble, and traversed by numerous streams (important ones being Bhimbar and Bhandar) which brought water during the monsoon from the hills of Jammu or from the Pabbi,[41] a small range of low bare hills running parallel to the Jehlam.[42] The

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36 Ain, II., (Tr.), p.316.

37 D.G. Sialkot, 1883-84, pp.1-5.

38 Monserrate, pp.108-9.

39 D.G. Gujranwala, 1883-84, pp.1-2.

40 Ain, II(Tr.), p.316.

41 D.G. Gujrat, 1921, pp.1-3.

42 Douie, Op.cit., p.243.

Chenab and Jehlam, on their way to the Indus, had worn for themselves wide valleys, 15 to 20 feet below the general level, leaving between them a comparatively high-lying upland called the Sandal Bar.[43] Its soil, firm and of reddish colour, was fertile but on account of scanty rainfall, the strength of the soil was seen only on scattered wells and depressions.[44]

The Sind Sagar Doab was the largest of all Doabs, its width between the Jehlam and Indus being sixty-eight kos.[45] Its portion which lay to the north of Koh-i-Jud presented an unusually wide variety of topography -- high mountain ridges, deep ravines, narrow valleys, sandy plateus, pleasant plains and angry torrents.[46] All along the Indus, lay a strip of riverain land called Kachhi, which was intersected by the branches of that river. A tract of of great fertility, it was dependent on the inundations of the Indus.[47] A more important feature was the Thal desert which occupied almost the whole of the Sind Sagar Doab. Its surface was covered by a succession of sand hills, with a general north-south direction, one following the other like the waves of an angry sea,[48] and inte-rspersed by strips of harder subsoil which in favourable years supported crude cultivation.[49]

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43 D.G. Shahpur, 1917, p.2

44 D.G. Gujrat, 1921, p.4.

45 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.316.

46 Monserrate, p.117, ; D.G.Rawalpindi, 1907, p.2 ; D.G. Jehlam, 1904, p.9 ; Douie, op.cit., p.30.

47 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series, Punjab, Vol.II, p.189.

48 D.G. Shahpur, 1917, p.8.

49 Travaskis, H.K., The Land of the Five Rivers, p.10,

The most interesting feature of the Sind Sagar Doab was the Koh-i-Jud, or the Salt Range, which was spread over an area of 100 kos,[50] in the British districts of Jehlam, Shahpur and Mianwali, Sinuous in outline and exceedingly complex in detail, they reached 5000 feet at Sakesar, but generally the summits ranged between 2500 and 3500 feet. Though intensely arid and unspeakably forbidding, it contained some isolated valleys of alluvium as well as some lakes and streams, the lower courses of which were brackish.[51] Babur found one such lake at Kalda-kahar, twenty miles north of Bhera. Shut in amongst the Jud mountains, it was six miles in circumference and received rain water from all sides. On its north lay an excellent meadow. To the west of it was found a spring whose source was located in the heights overlooking the lake. Impressed by the natural beauty of the spot, Babur laid out a garden, called Bagh-i-Safa.[52] The Salt Range was a veritable treasure of a superior variety of rock-salt.[53]

Before leaving for the hills, we might digress a little to refer to the people inhabiting the subah of Lahore, though evidence at our disposal is rather scanty. The Ain-i-Akbari provides us with the names of various castes who held, in each mahal, the rights of zamindari by which was meant the claim to

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50 Khulasat, p.75.

51 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab, Vol.I, pp.181-182; Spate, op.cit., p.451 ; Douie, op.cit., p.29

52 Baburnama, I, p.380.

53 Khulasat, p.75

certain imposts levied on the peasants over and above the land revenue assessments. In order to ensure the enforcement of these rights, a zamindar maintained a number of horsemen, foot-soldiers and fortresses besides the support of his kinsmen, for the zamindari right had close association with the caste or clan dominance.[54] If it be assumed thst a zamindari right, within a given area, belong to the numerically dominant caste, the evidence provided by the Ain could serve as an index of the distribution of various castes in the subah of Lahore. As the hereditary nature of the zamindari right was usually recognised,[55] it may be suggested that the pattern of distribution of various castes in the subah of Lahore suffered little change ever since the close of the sixteenth century.

The Rajputs held the maximum number of zamindaris in the Bet Jalandhar Doab, though they were distributed, to a limited extent, as far as the Jehlam. An overwhelming majority of the zamindaris in the central portion of the subah i.e. Bari, Rachna and Chenhat Doabs, belonged to the Jats. Interestingly, they were almost absent in the extremities. The Sind Sagar Doab, the geographical features of which were distinct from the rest of the

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54 Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib,(Eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol.I, pp.244-246.

55 Sujan Rai Bhandari (Khulasat,p.75) wrote that the tribe of the Janjuhas, who were the descendants of one Jud, held the zamindari of the parganas of Kirjhak, Nandana and Makhiala, all situated at the foot of the Koh-i-Jud. This held true even a hundred years before, when the Ain was written. Earlier still (1519) Babur (Baburnama,Ip.379) found the Koh-i-jud under the rule of Jud and Janjuha tribes.

Doabs, was peopled by castes (or tribes) not found anywhere else in the province. They were the Gakhars, Janjuhas, Khattars and Awans.[56]

The presence of a number of castes, each possessing a distinct social-economic cultural pattern, was the inevitable outcome of the intermingling of numerous tribes (with one another or with the natives) who had migrated, over the centuries, from the central and west Asian countries in order to make a permanent home in the region.

To return to our theme, the alluvial plains described a little earlier, were bounded on the north, as it were a backbone, by a range of low hills called the Siwaliks. It consisted entirely of vast beds of sand alternating with smaller proportion of loams and clays with extensive beds of loose conglomerates or gravel, in fact, the debris which the Himalaya has dropped over the ages.[57] From an elevation of 5000 feet below Simla, it diminished in height towards the north but increased in breadth till it finally extended over the whole of the upper Sind Sagar Doab. At their feet lay a 100 to 200 miles wide sub-montane tract which constituted the upper portions of the five Doabs. On the other hand, the Siwaliks and the Outer Himalaya were separated by a series of longitudinal valleys or '<u>duns</u>'. For instance, the Jaswan Dun which lay in the upper Bet Jalandhar Doab was 4 to 8 miles in width.[58] It has been referred to by Babur in his memoirs.[59]

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56 <u>Ain</u>, II. (Tr.), pp.320-328.

57 Douie, <u>op.cit</u>., pp.27-28 ; <u>D.G. Hoshiarpur</u>, 1904, p.8.

58 Trevaskis, <u>op.cit</u>, p.7

59 <u>Baburnama</u>, II pp.461-462

The Siwaliks were bounded by a chain of high mountain ranges called the Outer Himalaya (or Dhauladhar - Pir Panjal Range) which possessed an average height of 15,000 feet. Its western section, called the Pir Panjal, which stood like a high wall between the subah of Lahore and the valley of Kashmir, continued beyond the hills of upper Sind Sagar Doab. Its eastern section, known as the Dhauladhar (white ridge), formed the boundary of Chamba and Kangra, and sent an off-shoot as far as Kulu-Mandi.[60]

The Outer Himalaya contained a large number of petty principalities, commonly known as the Punjab hill states. Those situated between the Jehlam and Ravi included Bhimbar, Karyali, Akhnur, Jammu, Mankot, Samba, Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Bilaur and Chamba.[61] The families ruling over these states, with a few exceptions, belonged to the Surajbansi race of the Rajputs.[62] Moving eastwards from the Ravi to the Satluj, we come across Mau, Kangra, Guler, Siba, Jaswan, Nadaun, Suket, Mandi and Bilaspur (the last mentioned being situated in the region called Berun-i-Panjnad)[63] Almost all these chieftancies were ruled over by Chandrabansi Rajputs.[64]

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60 Douie, op.cit.,pp.16-17 ; Trevaskis, op.cit., p.5.

61 Since the intention here is to mention only those states which came into contact with the Mughals, some of the lesser known principalities have been left out. Four fuller lists of these states, see, Hutchison and Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, Vol.I, pp.45,46,50.

62 Hutchison and Vogel, op.cit.,p.49.

63 Ain,II,(Tr.),p.328.

64 Hutchison and Vogel, op.cit.,p.60.

The most outstanding feature of the history of these states has been described as, "The history of these Hill States is one of almost continuous warfare. When a strong ruler rose to power, the larger states absorbed or made tributory their smaller neighbours, but these again asserted their independence as soon as a favourable opportunity arrived. These wars, however, did not lead to any great political changes. On the whole the hill chiefs were considerate of each other's rights. Being all of the same race and faith, and also nearly related to one another by marriage and even closer family ties, they were content to make each other tributary, or to replace a deposed chief by one of their own kinsmen --- But the main cause, why the political condition of the Punjab Hills underwent hardly any change in course of many centuries, lies in the nature of the country. The extent of each state was, in original, determined by natural boundaries, the mountain ranges of the Himalaya, and though exceptional circumstances might sometimes lead to extension beyond or reduction within these boundaries, the state would ere long revert to the limits set by nature."[65]

Since the Mughals were engaged in a long-drawn out struggle to subdue the hill states, and since they fell under the administrative jurisdiction of the subah of Lahore, it would be appropriate to refer briefly to their polity. The account would serve as a necessary background to the study of the relations between the Mughals and the hill states.

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65 Hutchison and Vogel, op.cit., pp.62-63.

Each one of the above mentioned states formed 'a separate and independent domain' ruled over by its own chief called Raja, whose authority was of a three-fold nature -- 'religious, feudal and personal'. The idea of divinity of kingship, which brought the religion and state into a close relationship, was duly recognized. The Raja was the 'sole proprietor' of all the land available in his kingdom, and also 'the fountain-head of all rights in the soil.'[66] Next in importance to the Raja were the feudal barons, who were essentially of two types -- the rulers of formerly independent states who had been reduced to the position of vassals and those who had received their ranks as well as their jagirs directly from the Raja. All of them held their possessions in land on feudal tenure with obligation to render military and other services to their master. A similar relationship existed between these 'tenants-in-chief' and their tenants. It is not difficult to understand that the feudal lords enjoyed considerable influence in the society; but 'they exercised no direct authority even in their own fiefs, unless when appointed by the Raja to one of the higher offices in the state.' The work of actual administration was carried out by the Raja with the help of officers called wazirs, who, in turn, discharged executive and judicial functions through a heirarchy of local officials.[67]

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66 It is probably because of this reason that the contemporary chroniclers writing in Persian, refer to them as zamindars i.e. land-holders.

67 Hutchison and Vogel, op.cit., pp.65-70.

Chapter III

WORKING OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The provincial administration was headed over by a governor styled variously as subahdar, sipahsalar or nazim. His duties and functions were of a comprehensive nature.[1] He established peaceful conditions in the province which involved the suppression of elements -- rebellious zamindars or robber brigands -- who threatened to disrupt them.[2] He tried to bring the chiefs of the northern hill states within the pale of Mughal imperialism.[3] He sat in court, heard cases and provided justice to the complainants.[4] He supervised the working of the various provincial officers and punished the erring and recalcitrant among them.[5] He also undertook works of public utility.[6] In

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1 Ain, II, (Tr.), pp.37-41 ; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp.163-170; refer to the advice given by Akbar to Daniyal (A.N., III, p.722) when the latter was sent to Allahabad as governor ; Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, ff.13b-16a.

2 Refer to the chapter, 'The Problems of the Provincial Administration.'

3 For details see, the chapter, "The Subah of Lahore and Mughal Imperialism : The Hill States".

4 For Zakariya Khan's reputation as an impartial judge see, Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Javed, ff.167b-169a.

5 For Muinul Mulk's suppression of Nasir Khan, the governor of Chahar Mahal, see, Tahmas Namah, pp.52-53.

6 For Wazir Khan's works of construction, see, M.U., II, (Tr.) pp.982-983 ; For Ali Mardan Khan's canal, see, Lahori, II, pp.168-169 and Kambo, II, p.312.

certain circumstances, he was called upon to act in areas beyond the confines of the subah.[7] From time to time he was asked by the emperor to perform functions of a miscellaneous nature.[8] However, there were instances when he was deprived of his office on the charge of negligence, incompetence or oppression.[9]

Men of prominence, who held the governorship of the subah, functioned through their deputies, Qazi Afzal, Sayyid Sultan, Ghairat Khan, Shaikh Abdul Karim, Khwaja Muin, Bahadur Khan and Izzat Khan administered the province, one after the other, on behalf of Dara Shikoh from 1648 to 1658.[10]

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7 In 1579, Said Khan, the governor and the officers posted in the subah, were ordered to leave for Kabul to assist Mirza Shahrukh against Mirza Hakim and Mirza Sulaiman (A.N., III, pp.288). Abdul Samad Khan led a punitive expedition to Kashmir against Ashrafuddin (Siyar, II, p.455)

8 Jahangir ordered Qulij Khan to send Rs.170,000 from the treasury of Lahore to Qandhar (Tuzuk, I, p.109) ; Khalilullah Khan was required by Aurangzeb to receive the Iranian envoy, Budaq Beg, with all marks of honour (Alamgirnama, pp.607-609 ; Khafi Khan, II, p.124 ; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.35) ; Abdul Samad Khan was summoned by a royal farman to Delhi in order to participate in the efforts to overthrow Abdullah Khan (Shahnama Munawwar Kalam, Tr., pp.87-88)

9 When Inayatullah Yazdi failed to provide proper administration to the province as deputy of Asaf Khan, the governorship was given to Wazir Khan (Lahori, I(i), p.425 ; Kambo, I, p.485). However, the latter, too, was superseded by Motmid Khan, for the same reason, (Lahori, II, p.158 ; Kambo, II, p.309).

10 Waris, ff.22a, 24a, 46, 59b, 107a ; Kambo, III, pp.66, 115, 121, 138, 267. Also see, Saran, P., The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.159.

During the eighteenth century, the nature of this office underwent a considerable change. Firstly, the incumbent became practically independent of all central control.[11] Secondly, the office not only became hereditary but it remained in the hands of the holder for inordinately long periods. Thirdly, the subah of Multan was almost invariably placed under the charge of the governor of Lahore. Fourthly, apart from exercising control over the provinces under his charge, the governor was called upon to defend the empire against the Persian and Afghan invasions.

The diwan of the subah was vested with all authority in revenue and financial matters. He was required to arrange for the assessment and collection of land revenue, to supervise the functioning of the revenue officials, to realise the arrears,[12] to prevent the acts of oppression on the peasantry, to encourage the farmers to extend the area under cultivation, to maintain a detailed account of the income and expenditure, and to keep an eye

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11 For Abdul Samad Khan's defiance of central authority, see, Muzaffar Alam, Mughal Centre and the Subahs of Awadh and the Punjab (Ph.D. thesis),p.78.

12 Diwan Lakhpat Rai punished Bhiwani Das and Chaudhari Nidhan Singh, the agents of Adina Beg Khan, the faujdar of Bet Jalandhar Doab, when the latter failed to render an account of his revenues(Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan,pp.5-6).

on the provincial treasury. Faujdars, jagirdars, zamindars, amins, karoris and qanungoes were required to refer all revenue matters to the diwan.[13]

Besides the above functions, the diwan of the subah of Lahore sometimes performed military functions. Lakhpat Rai, who held the office during the governorship of Zakariya Khan, led punitive expeditions against the Sikhs,[14] while Kaura Mal undertook the task of suppressing Hayatullah Khan and Nasir Khan, during the tenure of Muinul Mulk.[15]

The employment of Hindus at all levels of revenue administration was apparent in the subah of Lahore, too. In 1595, Mathura Das was appointed the diwan of the subah.[16] In 1639, the office was given to Rai Sabha Chand in place of Bihari Mal, who had been transferred to Multan.[17] Lakhpat Rai and Kaura Mal have been referred to earlier.

In 1595, the provincial diwan was placed directly under the diwan-i-ala, making him independent of the governor.[18] From then onwards, he received orders directly from the central government. For instance, in

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13 Jagat Rai Shujai, Farhang-i-Kardani, ff.28a-b. see, Aurangzeb's farman to Muhammad Hashim, the diwan of Gujarat(1669) reproduced in Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp.134-144.

14 For details see, the chapter, "The Problems of the Provincial Adminstration".

15 Tahmas Namah, pp.52-53, 56-58.

16 A.N., III, p.670.

17 Waris, f.97b ; Lahori, II, p.143 ; Kambo, II, p.304.

18 A.N., III, p.670.

1700, the diwans of the subahs were ordered to advance Rs.20,000 to the provincial contingents, summoned by the centre.[19] However, the reform did not fail to create situations where serious differences arose between the two officers. Abdul Samad Khan complained to the emperor against the non-cooperative attitude of the provincial diwan, who refused to advance the money (more than four lakhs of rupees) from the provincial treasury, required to pay the troops who had fought against Husain Khan Khweshgi, and requested the emperor to direct the diwan to release the amount, which might be recovered from the income of his own jagirs.[20]

The provincial bakshi controlled the military organisation of the subah. He saw to it that the mansabdars posted in the region fulfilled the conditions of their mansabs, and after satisfying himself, issued certificates to the effect. It was only on the production of such documents that they received their salaries from the diwan. They could not leave the station assigned to them, except with the bakshi's permission. In the event of the death of a mansabdar, his jagir was taken over by the bakshi.[21]

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19 Akhbarat, Aurangzeb's 44th. regnal year, f.295.b.

20 Shahnama Munawwar Kalam, (Tr.), pp.91-92.

21 Qureshi, I.H., The Administration of the Mughal Empire, p.230.

The bakshi also acted as the waqia-nawis or the official news writer of the subah. In this capacity, he posted his agents in the offices of the governor and diwan, the court of justice and the kotwal's chabutra, as well as the various parganahs. Out of the huge mass of information, the waqia nawis included that part of it in the official communication, which he considered worth reporting to the emperor.[22] The following are the names of some men who held the twin offices of the bakshi and waqia nawis.

Year of appointment	Names	References
1615	Muhammad Raza Jabiri	Tuzuk, I, p.300.
1636	Ghazi Beg	Lahori, I, (ii), p.64.
1646	Behram	Kambo, II, p.470.
----	Muhammad Fazil	Waris, f.101a.
1657	Zainul Abidin Farahani	Waris, f.101a.
1658	Muhammad Rahim	Waris, f.113.b.
1710	Altaf Khan	Kamwar Khan, p.74.

It appears that a special waqia nawis was attached to a military expedition to report on the progress of the campaign. When such a force was deputed against Raja Jagat Singh, Sultan Nazr was made the waqia-nawis of Sayyid Khan Jahan's army and Qazi Nizama of Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang's.[23]

22 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Supplement), pp.174-175.

23 Lahori, II, p.241.

The capital city of the subah was provided with a qazi, appointed by the qazi-ul-quzat.[24] He heard cases, undertook detailed investigation and delivered the judgement.[25] He was required to hear both the plaintiff and the defendent, to be guided by the shariat, and to give an impartial verdict, disregarding all extraneous considerations. His functions included the drawing up of surety bonds, title deeds and contracts. He was expected to decline gifts, to keep away from feasts and entertainments, and to spend his time in the company of scholars and theologians, discussing the principles of jurisprudence (مسائل فقہ) with them.[26]

The qazi could seek the expert opinion of a mufti (a jurist or expounder of the law) in deciding a case. Badauni has mentioned one Maulana Muhammad, a scholar and teacher, who was employed as a mufti at Lahore.[27]

Men, both honest and dishonest, held the office of the qazi at Lahore.[28] It was believed that Shaikh Muin

24 Zameeruddin Siddiqui, The Institution of the Qazi under the Mughals, Medieval India : A Miscellany, vol.I, p.247.

25 Ain, II, (Tr.) pp.42-43.

26 Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, ff.20a-b.

27 Badauni, III, p. 154.

28 For the malpractices adopted by the qazis, see, Siyar II, pp.827-828 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), pp.76-77.

never decided a single case ; he always brought about a compromise between the contending parties.[29] His successor, Nurullah Shustari, closed the avenues of corruption to the insolent muftis and crafty muhtasibs of Lahore.[30] When a corrupt qazi attested Abdul Wahab's false claim of Rs.80,000 against the Sayyids of Lahore, Jahangir had to institute an inquiry.[31]

During the reign of Aurangzeb the qazis acquired such great powers in matters relating to the shariat as well as the general principles of administration that they roused the jealousy of other responsible officers. For instance, Ali Akbar, the qazi of Lahore, always regarded himself as the equal of the governor. This brought him into a conflict with Qiwamuddin, the governor of the subah, which ended in the death of both.[32]

It may be pointed out that qazis were appointed in various parganahs by an order of the Sadr-us-Sadur. Their jurisdiction extended, apart from the parganah headquarter, to the villages included within it.[33] Mir

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29 Badauni, III, p.96.

30 ibid., p. 133.

31 Tuzuk, II, pp.157-158 ; M.U., I, (Tr.)., p.184.

32 Khafi Khan, II, pp.216, 256-257.

33 For qazis functions relating to the villages, see. Goswamy, B.N., and Grewal, J.S., The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, Docs., I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX.

Muhammad, who was appointed the qazi of parganah Batala (Bari Doab sarkar) in 1735, was required to be just and equitable in deciding lawsuits, executing penal laws, holding of Friday prayers and other congregations, inducing people to practise piety, solemnising marriages, effecting division of inherited property, looking after unclaimed property and possessions of orphans, and appointing testators, executors and legatees. However, these instructions were not always followed. For, the craftsmen and artisans of Batala, in a memorandum, demanded the removal of qazi Wali Muhammad, who, like his father (a dismissed qazi) was oppressive and corrupt.[34]

The qazi of the subah also held the office of the sadr,[35] who looked after the grants of land for religious and charitable endowments (madad-i-maash). He was required to recommend deserving individuals to the sadr-us-sudur for such grants,[36] to protect them from the oppression of neighbouring jagirdars, to prevent the grantees from encroaching upon the Khalisa. He was to resume their lands to the khalisa in the event of a grantees

34 India Office Library (London),Documents,1.0.4720(46), (62),(52),(67) ; reproduced in J.S.Grewal, Miscellaneous Articles,pp.51-71.

35 In Shahjahan's 30th regnal year, Muhammad Yusuf is referred to as the qazi and sadr of Lahore; (Waris,f. 114a).

36 For the procedure of the grant of madad-i-maash,see, Farhang-i-Kardani,f.39a.

death of desertion or if it had been acquired through fradulent means.[37] A parwana issued in 1644 refers to such a grant in the parganah of Batala made originally in 1571. The sadr , resumed, on the death of the grantees, 49 bighas out of 107 bighas 8 biswas, leaving the remaining for the heirs.[38]

During the governorship of Said Khan (1578-1585), Qazi Ali Baghdadi was ordered to rearrange the boundaries of lands given as madad-i-maash and aima in the subah of Lahore, which had been encroached upon. As a result of his efforts, a clear distinction was made between the khalisa and different types of assignments of land.[39] When Akbar discovered widespread irregularities in the madad-i-maash grants, he overhauled the entire working of the sadarat. It was in this context that he appointed a sadr to each of the five doabs or sarkars of the subah of Lahore, in order to enquire into the management of these grants. They were Mulla Alahdad of Amroha, Mulla Alahdad Nabawai of Sultanpur, Mulla Shah Muhammad of Shahbad, Mulla Sheri and Shaikh Faizi.[40]

The kotwal was essentially a police Officer, who was required to perform a wide range of functions.[41]

37 Siyar, II, p.828.

38 Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.305, n.33.

39 Badauni, II, p.254.

40 ibid., p.295-296.

41 Ain, II, (Tr.), pp.43-45 ; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, pp.168-170 ; Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, ff.28b-31a.

Basically, he was concerned with the maintenance of law and order in the metropolis, protection of the life and property of the people,[42] and the detection and punishment of criminals.[43] He was required to stop the distillation of liquor and to curb traffic in women. He was kept informed about the happenings in the city by Halalkhors, whose job was to visit every house twice a day to clean it. To enable him to perform his functions, the kotwal was supported by a considerable body of cavalry and footmen. Every quarter of the city was patrolled by a detachment of one horseman and 20 to 30 foot soldiers.[44] Though he was appointed by the emperor, he acted under the orders of the provincial governor.[45]

It is strange but significant that when the Sikhs were engaged in a guerrilla warfare with the government, one of their number, Subeg Singh, a Janbar Jat

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42 The kotwal of Lahore refused to destroy the residence of the Christian Fathers at the instance of their enemies. On another occasion, the Kotwal and his men exerted themselves to the utmost protect the life of a Brahmin youth, who was persecuted by his co-religionists Du Jaric, Akbar and the Jesuits, pp,121,147-149.

43 Mirza Faulad and his companion, after having assaulted Mulla Ahmed of Thatta, were apprehended by the night-watch, probably acting under the directions of the kotwal ; for details see the chapter, "Social Tensions."

44 Manucci, II, pp.395-396.

45 It was at the order of the governor, Qiwamuddin, that Nizamuddin, the kotwal, went to arrest Qazi Ali Akbar, with a body of armed men; Khafi Khan, II, p.257.

belonging to a village near Lahore, held the kotwali. His services as kotwal were commended by the prominent men (panches) of Lahore, for it was due to his influence that the Sikhs did not plunder the city. Also, on a number occasions, he acted as a intermediary between the provincial government and the Sikh insurgents.[46] The following persons also held the office at one time or the other.

Year of appointment	Name	References
1606	Nuruddin Quli	Tuzuk, I, p.62 ; Iqbalnama, p.11.
----	Baqi Khan Qalmaq	M.U., I (Tr.), p.381.
----	Muhammad Khwaja Gurzbardar	Waris, f.6a.
1651	Muhammad Saleh	Waris, f.52a ; Kambo, III, p.124.
1653	Motmid Khan	M.U., II, (Tr.) p.344.
1710	Mir Abdul Salam	Kamwar Khan, p.69.
1718	Talb Khan	ibid., p.256.

The muhtasib was theoretically responsible for the maintenance of Islamic code of morals, but in practice he performed a number of functions of a secular nature,

46 Panth Prakash, pp.737, 744, 761-767.
Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.117, 146.

many of which are performed by a modern municipality. He was required to inspect the weights and measures used in the markets, to solve any dispute between the buyers and sellers, to curb the sale and use of intoxicants, to suppress immoral and indecent behaviour.[47] The order for his appointment was issued by the sadr-us-sudur. He was given a mansab of 250 and posted in the cities and towns of the empire. To enable him to perform his duties, he was provided with a small contingents of horsemen by the governor.[48] It may, however, be noted that the muhtasib did not possess any judicial powers, he was merely an executive officer.[49]

Badauni provides an instance of the working of the muhtasibs of Lahore, Shaikh Saadullah Bani Israil, a pupil of Shaikh Ishaq Kaku, was a scholar and a saint. But having attached himself to a dancing girl, he began to lead a life of profligancy. He even sold the immovable property of his disciples in order to satisfy the demands of his mistress. To put an end to his unrestrained liberty, his disciples secured the help of a party muhtasibs. One night, they burst in on the Shaikh while he was drinking

47 Siyar, II, p.830.

48 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Supplement), pp.250-251.

49 Qureshi, op.cit., pp.199-200.

wine in company with his mistress, by climbing over the wall of his house. The Shaikh reprimanded them severely for intruding into his privacy. Realizing their own indscretion, they felt ashamed and left.[50]

The faujdar was essentially a military officer,[51] who was responsible for the maintenance of peace in a territorial sub-division of the subah, which might or might not coincide with a sarkar. In fact, the number of faujadaris in a subah depended on the needs of the circumstances, or in other words, the number and strength of the refractory zamindars in it. A faujdar was required to keep a vigilant eye on the activities of the zamindars, to see that they did not strengthen their military position by collecting materials of war or constructing fortresses, to engage himself in suppressing the rebellious among them, to demolish their strongholds in the countryside, to protect the Khalisa, jagir, imlak and altamgha lands from their encroachments, and to free the roads from the activities of robbers and highwaymen.[52] But since the faujdars had considerable military resources at his disposal, he could, in

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50 Badauni, III, p. 53.

51 Haidayat-ul-Qawaid, ff.16a-17b.

52 Siyar, II, pp.831-832; Manucci, II, p.434.

certain cases, himself became the instrument of high-handedness and oppression.[53]

Though, the faujdar, like other imperial officers, was appointed by the emperor, there are instances where he was nominated by the provincial governor. He was, for all practical purposes, a subordinate of the governor and received instructions from him. A faujdar could enlist new levies for specific tasks.[54] He could also seek the military assistance of friendly zamindars, if possible.[55] But he had to deposit all the booty secured in a military campaign with the governor, failing which action could be taken against him. It appears that he could not get a promotion without the recommendation of the governor.[56]

Besides sarkars, the faujdars were placed at strategic points, where their presence was required for certain specific purposes. It appears that the faujdar

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53 Ali Asghar Khan, the faujdar(Bet Jalandhar) Doab, forcibly occupied the jagirs of the mansabdars, instead of administring the area under his jurisdiction with efficiency and justice ; Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukhsiyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shah, f.47a, quoted in Malik, Z.U., The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p.326.

54 See, the biography of Shahdad Khan Khweshgi, the Faujdar of Bet Jalandhar Doab under Abdul Samad Khan ; M.U., II, (Tr.), pp.747-750.

55 For Shams Khan's campaign against Banda, refer to the Chapter, 'Problems of the Provincial Administration.'

56 M.U., II, (Tr.), pp.747-750.

of Attock was entrusted with the task of containing the unruly Afghan tribes, who inhabited the area west of the Indus, technically a part of the subah of Kabul. In 1667, Kamil Khan, the faujdar of Attock gathered the 'faujdars and jagirdars' stationed in the environs of the Indus, entered the country of the Yusufzais and inflicted severe chastizement on them, acting in collaboration with the troops from Kabul under Shamsher Khan.[57] The names of some of the faujdars are given below :

Year of appoint ment	Name	Jurisdiction	References
----	Gangdhar S/o Raja Todar Mal	Chakla Sialkot	Waris, f.97b Kambo, III, p.203.
1655	Rai Sabha Chand	-do-	-do-
1656	Yusuf Chela	-do-	Waris, f.108b. Kambo, III, p.220.
----	Khanjar Khan	Bhera & Khushab	Alamgirnama, p.179.
1658	Qulij Khan	-do-	Alamgirnama, p.197.
1708	Dilawar Khan	Aminabad	Kamwar Khan, p.21.
1708	Razaju Khan	Attock	-do-
1708	Qutbuddin	Chakla Gujrat	-do-

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57 Khafi Khan, II, pp.208-209 ; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp.61-62.

Since the beginning of our period, a large number of independent principalities existed in the hills which formed the north-eastern boundary of the subah of Lahore.[58] The Mughals undertook numerous military expeditions in the region and succeeded in reducing almost all of them to a state of vassalage. But time and again, they attempted to throw away the imperial yoke.[59] Therefore, it was necessary to ensure the continuity of their submission, which required them to pay a regular tribute and to render military service, if and when called for. For this purpose, these semi-autonomous states were divided into two faujdaris, namely Kangra and Jammu. That the central govt.attached great importance to them is evidenced by the frequent transfers of the faujdars placed over them. This is adequately illustrated by the lists of the faujdars of Kangra and Jammu, attached herewith.

Year of Appointment	Faujdars of Kangra	References
1634	Najabat Khan	Lahori, I(ii), p.10 ; Kambo, II, p.4.
1636	Mirza Khan	Kambo, II, p.144 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.81.
1636	Waqqas Haji	Lahori, I, (ii), p.217 ; Kambo, II, p.209

58 Refer to the chapter, "Formation of the Subah".

59 For details see the chapter, "The Subah of Lahore and Mughal Imperialism : The Hill States."

----	Rajrup	Lahori,II,p.237-238 ; Kambo,II,p.330.
1640	Raja Jagat Singh	-do-
1641	Khanazad Khan	Lahori,II,p.236 ; M.U..,II, (Tr.),p.677.
1642	Najabat Khan	Kambo,II,p.363
1644	Shujat Khan Bahadur	M.U.,II,(Tr.),p.855.
1645	Khanjar Khan	Lahori,II,p.414 ; Kambo,II,p.425.
1647	Murshid Quli Khan	Kambo,II,p.458. M.U.,II.(Tr.),p.304.
1648	Shamsuddin Khan Khweshgi	M.U.,II,(Tr.),p.803.
----	Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashkandi	M.U.,II,(Tr.),p.1011.
1656	Iraj Khan	Waris,f.81b ; M.U.,I, (Tr.),p.685.
1658	Mir Khan	Alamgirnama,p.217 ; Khulasat,p.525.
----	Saif Khan	Alamgirnama,p.286.
----	Safi Khan	Alamgirnama,p.292.
1716	Khaililullah Khan	Akhbarat, Farrukh Siyar's 4th Regnal year,p.158.

Year of Appointment	Faujdars of Jammu	References
1629	Mukhlisullah Khan	M.U.,I,(Tr.),p.157.
----	Shah Quli Khan	Lahori,II,p.128.
1638	Jalal S/o Dilawar Khan	Lahori,II,p.128.
----	Shukrullah Arab	Lahori,II,p.228.

1640	Sarandaz Khan	Lahori, II, p.228.
1641	Khanázad Khan	Lahori, II, p.236.
1656	Iraj Khan	Waris, f.81b ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.685.
1659	Sarangdhar	Alamgirnama, p.196.
----	Shahbaz Khan	Alamgirnama, p.757.
----	Mir Khan	-do-
----	Amir Khan Mir Miran	M.U., I, (Tr.), p.246.
1678	Qiwamuddin Khan	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.166 ; M.U., II.(Tr.), p.519.
----	Shamsher Khan Tarin	M.U., II, (Tr.), p.801.
1705	Munim Khan	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.496; M.U., II, (Tr.), p.293.
1707	Muhammad Mir Khan	Kamwar Khan, p.18.
1708	Dil Diler Khan	ibid., p.43.
1712	Feroz Khan	ibid., p.122.
1713	Zakariya Khan	ibid., p.180, 193.
1715	Nazr Ali Khan	ibid., p.206.
----	Bayazid Khan	M.U., II(Tr.), p.554.
1719	Itiqad Khan	Kamwar Khan, p.239.
1720	Najabat Ali Khan	ibid., p.292.
1722	Sayyid Husain	Shahnama Munawwar Kalam, (Tr.), p.132.
1722	Ghazanfar Khan	ibid., p.133.
1750	Adina Beg Khan	Goswamy and Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishanavas of Pindori, p.175.

At times, this office could be held by the governor himself, as is shown by the case of Qiwamuddin Khan who held the additional charge of the faujdari of Jammu.[60] The office could also be conferred on the native chiefs. On his request, Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur was made the faujdar of Kangra (1640) in place of his son Rajrup and promised to collect a tribute of Rs.four lakhs annually from the zamindars of the region.[61] Also, at the opening of Auranzeb's reign, Sarangdhar, the zamindar of Jammu, was made its faujdar at the recommendation of Khalilullah Khan.[62] There are instances when an officer was given the dual charge of the faujdaris of Jammu and Kangra. Khanazad Khan (1641)[63] and Iraj Khan (1656) are cases in point.[64] Moreover a faujdar could be asked to act in areas beyond the territorial limits of the subah. In 1635 Najabat Khan, the faujdar of Kangra, led a military expedition to Srinagar (Garhwal) which, however, ended in a disaster.[65]

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60 Massir-i-Alamgiri, p.169 ; M.U., II(Tr.), p.519.
61 Lahori, II, p.239 ; Kambo, II, p.330.
62 Alamgirnama, p.196.
63 Lahori, II, p.236.
64 Waris, f.81b ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.686.
65 Lahori, I(ii), pp.90-93 ; Kambo, II, pp.136-144.

Each of the hill states possessed a fort, which usually stood on an unapproachable hill-top and surrounded by a dense jungle on all sides. It was on the strength of these forts that the hills states succeeded in putting up a strong oppostion to the spread of Mughal imperialism in the hills.[66] In these circumstances, it was imperative for the Mughals either to destroy them or garrison them with their own troops. The fort ~~fort~~ of Kangra, whose impregnability has been universally acclaimed by the contemporary writers, fell into the hands of the Mughals in 1620. Thereafter, it was placed under the charge of an officer designated as qiladar (commandant). The fort of Taragarh, situated on the boundary between the state of Nurpur and Chamba, was also treated in the same manner after it was snatched from Raja Jagat Singh in 1646. Undoubtedly the presence of two Mughal qiladars in the hills went a long way in fortifying the position of the Mughals in the region. Some of these qiladars have been listed below.

Year of appointment	Qiladars of Kangra	References
----	Alif Khan	Lahori,II,p.175.
1639	Sayyid Sadr Khan	Lahori,II,p.175.
1644	Sayyid Lutf Ali	ibid.,p.335.

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66 Khulasat, p.76.

1654	Khwaja Abdul Rehman Naqshbandi	Waris, f.71a.
1657	Sayyid Khizr	Waris, f.108b.
1658	Safi Khan	M.U., II, (Tr.), p.668.
1711	Ghazanfar Khan	Kamwar Khan, p.133.
1713	Fauj Ali Khan	ibid., p.137.
1716	Khalilullah Khan	ibid., p.202.
1722	Khalilullah Khan S/o Ruhullah Khan	ibid., p.342.

Year of Appointment	Quiladars of Taragarh	References
1646	Bahadur Kambo	Lahori, II, p.490 ; Kambo, II, p.467.
1651	Sabal Singh S/o Raja Bikramajit	Waris, f.50a.
1654	Mir Fateh Isfahani	ibid., f.72a.
1655	Kishan Singh, grandson of Raja Man Singh	ibid., f.85a.
1674	Amanat Khan	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.144.

The contemporary authorities do not yield much information about the working of the local administration in the subah of Lahore. However, we can fall back on the Char Bagh-i-Punjab written by Ganesh Das Wadhera in 1849. He has provided a list of the administrators of Gujrat from 1588 to the end of Ahmed Shah's reign i.e. 1754. Evidently,

the author, being the qanungo of Gujrat, had access to the local records of Gujrat, which are not extant now. The list, taken as a case study, provides an insight into some aspects of the local administration in the area under review. However, before we proceed to analyse the information contained therein, we must adjudge the status of Gujrat as an administrative unit as well as that of its administrators.

In 1592 or 1597, when Akbar reached the Chenab on his way to Kashmir, the Gujars complained against the oppression of Waraich Jats. On their appeal, the villages which fell under the zamindari of the Gujars were separated from Sialkot and constituted into the separate parganah of Gujrat.[67] Abul Fazl has counted Gujrat as one of the 21 mahals included in the sarkar of Chenhat Doab.[68] In the twentieth regnal year of Shahjahan, Saadullah Khan, the Wazir, evolved a new administrative unit called the chakla, which stood mid-way between the parganah and the sarkar, being composed of a number of parganahs. In order to administer it, the wazir created the offices of a faujdar and amin, which were vested in the same person.[69] That the reform was duly implemented is

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67 Khulasat, p.412-413.

68 Ain., II, (Tr.), p.325.

69 Khulasat-us-Siyaq, f.26a-b.

illustrated by the following examples.

In the 30th, regnal year of Shahjahan, Yusuf Chela who was the faujdar and amin of Aminabad was given the additional charge of the faujdari and amini of chakla Sialkot, which was earlier, held by Rai Sabha Chand.[70] In the 38th. regnal year of Aurangzeb, Zainuddin Ahmed was found to be the faujdar and amin of Attock.[71] Similarly, Muhummad Husain held the faujdari and amini of Sialkot in the 3rd year of Farrukh Siyars reign.[72]

Now, Gujrat has been referred to as a chakla in the Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta as well as the the Char Bagh-i-Punjab. Therefore, it may be suggested that Ganesh Das Wadhera's administrator combined in himself the functions of the faujdar and amin. In other words, he was entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order as well as supervising the collection of land revenue.[73] The very appointment of a large number of Hindus suggests that this officer was intimately connected with the land revenue administration.

During the pre-Aurangzeb period, extending from 1588 to 1658, the percentage of the Hindus employed as

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70 Waris, f.108b.

71 Akhbarat, Aurangzeb's 38th regnal year, p.361-362.

72 Akhbarat, Farrukhsiyar's 3rd regnal year, p.229.

73 For functions of the amin, see, Siddiqi, N.A., Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, pp.84-85.

administrators of Gujrat (7 out of 14) stood at 50. Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan seem to have maintained a balance between the two major communities so far as the appointment to local offices was concerned. The percentage fell to 14 during the 51-year reign of Aurangzeb, when only 2 out of 14 incumbents to the said office were Hindus. This sharp decline in the percentage of the Hindus was fully in accord with Aurangzeb's standing orders against their employment in the revenue department.[74]

The percentage, however, rose appreciably in the post-Aurangzeb period, notwithstanding Bahadur Shah's order for the dismissal of all Hindu clerks, other than those in the service of the emperor.[75] It even exceeded the figure of pre-Auranzeb period. During a span of 45 years extending from 1707 to 1754, it shot upto 55 percent, when 10 out of 18 officers were Hindu. With the decline of central authority during the first half of the eighteenth century, the provincial governors had acquired great powers. Since they did not expect any assistance from Delhi in time of emergency, they sought to strengthen their own position within the subah by involving the local elements in the work of administration.

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74 Khafi Khan, II, p.249 ; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.528.

75 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 2nd regnal year, p.137.

In view of the above discussion, it may be safely suggested that the nature of local administration throughout the subah of Lahore was not different from that which prevailed in the chakla of Gujrat.[76]

The functions of amil or amal-guzar as detailed in the Ain, suggest that he was the head of the parganah administration.[77] Though he has been assigned the duty of punishing highway robbers and other male-factors, he was essentially a revenue collector, He was required to ascertain the extent of land under cultivation, to strive to bring the arable waste under the plough, to advance loans to the farmers on easy terms, to undertake the work of measurement, assessment and collection with the help of muqaddam, karkun, patwari and the village headman, to report the damage of crops due to natural calamities, to protect the farmer from the oppression of the revenue officials, and to look after the lands assigned in madad-i maash.[78]

The following incident, which took place in a village of the parganah of Jalandhar is an extant example of the working of the amil. Sometime in April

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76 Char Bagh-i-Punjab, pp. 200-203.

77 Qureshi, I.H., The Pargana Officials under Akbar, Islamic Culture, Vol. XVI, 1942, pp.87-99.

78 Ain., II, (Tr.), pp.46-50 ; Goswamy, B.N., and Grewal, J.S., The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, Doc. XIII.

1621, a meteorite fell on the ground amidst tremendous amount of sound and light. The villagers, frightened and bewildered, felt that a natural calamity had occured. They despatched a quick runner to inform the amil about the mishap. Muhammad Said, the amil, hastened to the scene to make an on-the-spot inquiry, after which he was expected to report the extent of damage done to the crops and recommend the case for a discount in the revenue. The amil found that a piece of land, ten to twelve yards in length and breadth, had burnt in such a way that not a single blade of grass was left. The affected place, which was still emitting a lot of heat was ordered to be dug up. They recovered a piece of iron, as hot as if it had been extracted from a furnance. After it had cooled down, the amil had it packed and sealed. It was duly sent to the court.[79]

The qanungo, who maintained a record of all kinds of information regarding the agrarian conditions, transactions and changes in a parganah,[80] came within the scope of Auranzeb's proselytizing activities. Inayat-ullah, formerly a qazi, of Kabul, requested that Diyanat Ram, the dismissed qanungo of Sialkot was willing to embrace Islam, if re-appointed to his former post. The emperor not only agreed but also sent him a khilat.[81]

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79 Tuzuk, II, p.204 ; Iqbalnama, pp.179-180.

80 Goswamy and Grewal, op.cit., Doc.XIII.

81 Akhbarat, Aurangeb's 39th regnal year, p.14.

Similarly, Punjab Rai, the qanungo of Shamsabad (Sind Sagar Doab), turned a Muslim and received a khilat.[82] The ancestors of Debi Prasad, a Khatri of the Bali Sub-caste, held the qanungo-ship of Kalanaur, a qasba situated about forty kos from Lahore. On the recommendation of Mulla Abdullah of Sialkot, he entered the service of Aurangzeb and received the name of Ikhlas Kesh.[83] Apparently, he had become a proselyte.

The control of the central government over the administration of the subah was exercised through a variety of ways and means. For instance, the visits of the emperor to Lahore went a long way in keeping the provincial officers on their toes.[84] Even when the aim of the emperors was to visit Kashmir or Kabul, for reasons of state or for recreational purposes, they had to pass through the subah of Lahore. They could not have failed to watch the performance of the provincial officers from close quarters, and to reprimand the incompetent and punish the disaffected.

The Mughal emperor had the sole authority to appoint all the officers in the empire, down to the lowly-

82 Akhbarat, Aurangzeb's 39th regnal year, p.37.

83 M.U., I, (Tr.), p.665.

84 In his advice to Prince Muazzam, Aurangzeb impressed upon the need for a king to always remain on the tour of his kingdom ; Ahkam, p.59.

placed book-binder.[85] Though they were posted in various subahs, they were answerable only to their respective departmental heads at the centre, and not to their superiors within the province. All of them served only one master, the emperor, who was empowered to promote, demote, transfer and dismiss them.[86] This unique feature of the Mughal polity served as the most potent factor in imposing the central control over the provincial officers at the various levels of administration.[87]

In ordinary circumstances, an officer was not allowed to hold a post in a subah for more than four or five years. A transfer was imminent. Unfavourable reports always hastened it, but favourable ones did not unduly postpone it. The frequency of transfers was a matter of routine, it was invariably accepted without the slightest show of protest. The practice was rigorously applied to the subah of Lahore, if the lists of faujdars of Kangra and Jammu or even of Gujrat are any indication.[88]

In 1611, Jahangir came to know that some amirs posted on the borders (presumably round the Indus)

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85 Siyar, II, p.831.

86 De Laet, p.103 ; Guha, J.P., (Ed.) India in the Seventeenth Century, pp.79, 80, 87.

87 For impermanence of office, rank, jagir, wealth etc. see, Pelsaert, pp.54-56, 64.

88 Char Bagh-i-Punjab, pp.200-202.

had assumed certain privileges and prerogatives which did not belong to them. He prepared a code of conduct for officers and circulated it among them through the bakshis. They were forbidden from sitting in the jharoka, from taking the escort of royal attendants , from keeping the captains of auxiliaries as guards, from taking the drum-beaters while going out, from conferring titles on their servants, from forcing their subordinates to perform kornish or prostration, from affixing their seal on whatever they wrote, from arranging elephant fights, from keeping singers in their attendance as was customary at the court. These regulations, called Ain-i-Jahangiri were enforced vigorously.[89]

Shahjahan had set aside a period in his daily routine when the petitions sent by governors, diwans and bakshis and other provincial officers, posted in the various subahs and sarkars, were entertained and dealt with.[90] According to Careri, the emperor had fixed Monday to be devoted to the affairs of the subahs of Lahore, Delhi and Agra.[91] On his part, Aurangzeb forbade the vakils of the governors from writing Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla or the proceedings of the imperial court. However, they could

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89 Tuzuk, I, p.205 ; In a letter to Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan Aurangzeb gave a discourse on the duties of an imperial officer ; Rukkat, pp.93-94.

90 Kambo, I, p.246.

91 Guha, op.cit., p.290.

they could copy the transanctions recorded in the registers of the imperial bakshis and other officers.[92]

The Mughal government had evolved a fairly efficient system of news-reporting, by virtue of which it kept itself informed about all kinds of happenings in the provinces, including the working of the provincial officers. Following the traditions laid down by Akbar, Jahangir 'made a rule that the events of the subhas should be reported according to the boundaries of each and newswriters from court had been appointed for this duty.' The information acquired in this manner was found to be of great advantage to the state.[93] Aurangzeb held the opinion that 'the main pillar of the government was to be well informed in the news of the kingdom, for negligence of a single moment became the cause of disgrace for long years.[94] However, wrong reporting was not allowed to go unpunished.[95]

The functions of the bakshi as the waqia nawis or the official newswriter, have been discussed earlier. When they were suspected of colluding with local local officers, about whom they were supposed to report, secret newswriters called sawanih nigars or khufiya

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92 Akhbarat, Aurangzeb's 43rd regnal year, ff.139a-b.

93 Tuzuk, I, p.247.

94 Ahkam, p.55.

95 ibid., p.134.

nawises were posted in the different subahs. As if this was not enough, harkaras or spies were also pressed into service.[96] According to the author of Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin, the intelligence services were manned by four levels of officers viz. waqia nigar, sawanih nigar, khufiya nawis and harkara, all of whom acted independently of one another.[97]

The following are some of the instances of the working of the intelligence system in the subah of Lahore. During the reign of Jahangir, the news-writers of Lahore reported the death of group of people near Aminabad due to some natural calamity.[98] In 1640, the waqia nawises of Punjab informed the emperor about the damage wrought by the floods of the Jehlam.[99] When Khan Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang, the governor of the subah of Lahore (1691 to 1693) oppressed the inhabitants of the region, the emperor duly received the reports (sawanih) to that effect.[100] In 1695, the Sawanih-nigar of Lahore wrote about a violent clash between two officers, Zamir Beg and Muhammad Khalil over

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96 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Supplement), p.175 ;Manucci (Vol.II, p.15) had a high opinion of the Mughal espionage system during the reign of Aurangzeb.

97, Siyar, II, p.331 ; Hidayat-ul-Qawaid, ff.22a-24b.

98 Tuzuk, I, p.247.

99 Kambo, II, p.329.

100 Ahkam, p.94.

the possession of a *parganah* (name not clear) in which the former lost his life.[101] A number of *harkaras* namely Shankar Rao, Bhagwan Das and Keshav Rao, sent reports about the rebellious activities of Banda as well as the efforts of the provincial efficers to contain him.[102] In 1715, Muhammad Saleh reported the plunder of goods worth Rs.11,000 belonging to a *sahukar*, Jiwan Mal, in the Jalandhar Doab.[103] In 1716, another *harkara*, posted at the *chakla* of Kangra, sent a report about the working of its *faujdar*, Khalilullah Khan.[104].

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101. *Akhbarat*, Auranzeb's 39th regnal Year, p.81

102 *Akhbarat*, Bahadur Shah's 5th & 6th regnal years, Vol.I, p.135 and Vol.II, p.395 ; Also, Bahadur Shah's 4th regnal year, p.372.

103 *Akhbarat*, Farrukh Siyar's 3rd regnal year, p.228.

104 *Akhbarat*, Farrukh Siyar's 4th regnal year, Vol.I, p.158.

Chapter IV

PROBLEMS OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Mughal administration in the subah of Lahore was faced with problems, which arose out of a variety of circumstances, both ordinary and extra-ordinary. First, the inherent tendency among the zamindars, highway robbers and other free-booters to defy the established authority at the slightest opportunity, was a ubiquitous phenomenon of the Mughal empire. No wonder, the provincial administration in the subah of Lahore had its own share of such troubles. Second, the evolution of the Sikh community, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, took place along lines which brought it into an inevitable conflict with the government. Since the Mughal emperors were conscious of the importance of the subah in the affairs of the empire, they allowed little initiative to the provincial Officers, even in petty matters. They made their own assessment of a given situation; they formulated and executed themselves the policy devised to face it. However, with the decline of the imperial authority during the early decades of the eighteenth century, the provincial administration was increasingly left to its own devices. As a consequence, it was provided with ample opportunity to display its possession (or lack) of strength, vigour and imagination in the solution of its problems.

On his way to the imperial court, Dilawar Khan, the governor of the subah of Lahore, heard about Prince Khusro's revolt and subsequent flight from Agra to Lahore. From Panipat, he hastened back to Lahore, informing everyone - government servants, karoris and merchants - about the event. But he could not prevent Abdur Rahim, the diwan of the subah of Lahore, from joining Khusro, who bestowed a lofty title on the fresh adherent.[1] Having reached Lahore before the arrival of Khusro, Dilawar Khan, with the help of Mirza Husain, the diwan and Nuruddin Quli, the kotwal, strengthened the fortifications and placed the gunds in position. Said Khan, an Officer posted in Kashmir, who was then encamped on the Chenab, joined the loyalists ; the people of the city of Lahore also came to their assistance.[2] But for Dilawar Khan's loyalty and prompt action, it would have been difficult for the imperialists to subdue Khusro.

Meanwhile, Khusro having been joined by Hasan Beg Badakhshi and 300 of his clansmen, reached Lahore and laid siege to it. When he heard about the arrival of Shaikh Farid at Sultanpur, he raised the nine-day old siege and marched eastwards to give battle to the imperialists. The rebel force, which had suffered heavily due to unexpected rains and inadequacy of equipment, was defeated in a battle fought at Bhairowal, near Goindwal. However, Khusro and

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1. Tuzuk, I, 59 ; Iqbalnama, p.10 ; Massir-i-Jahangiri, 81.
2. Tuzuk, I, p.62 ; Iqbalnama, p.11 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p.81.

his principal supporters managed to escape. On the advice of Hasan Beg, who had offered the Prince his treasure amounting to four lakhs of rupees and lying at Rohtas, the fugitives turned towards Kabul. They hoped to raise an army of ten to twelve thousand soldiers, for men and horses were available in plenty in Kabul.[3]

Having joined the victorious general, the emperor, Jahangir, marched towards Lahore, while Mahabat Khan, Mirza Ali and Raja Basu, 'the faithful zamindar of Kohistan' were ordered to apprehend Khusro wherever he was to be found.[4] Orders were also issued to the agents of jagirdars and karoris to police all the roads and ferries against the rebels. The fugitive prince tried to cross the Chenab at Sodhara, but the boatmen at the bidding of Kamal, the local Chaudhary, refused to help Khusro. Meanwhile, Mir Abul Qasim Namkin, who was holding the parganah of Gujrat, reached the scene, and with the assistance of Khwaja Khizr Khan and Hilal Khan khwajasra, captured Khusro along with his accomplices.[5] On 1 May 1606, the rebels including the leaders and followers were presented before the emperor. All of them were given exemplary punishments.[6]

Shaikh Farid Bokhari was granted the title of Murtza Khan and given Bhairowal in jagir, which was renamed as Fatehabad.

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3 Tuzuk, Ipp.63-64 ; Iqbalnama, pp.11-13 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, pp 82-3.

4 Tuzuk, I, p.65 ; Iqbalnama, p.13 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, pp 83-84.

5 Tuzuk, I, pp.66-67; Iqbalnama, pp. 14-15 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p.85. M.U., II, (Tr.), p.510.

6 Tuzuk, I.pp.68-69; Iqbalnama, pp. 16-17 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, pp. 86-87. ; M.U., I, (Tr.), pp.621-622 ; Ross and Power.(eds.), Jahangir and the Jesuits, pp.9-10.

Dilawar Khan, the governor of the subah, was raised to the mansab of 2000 zat and 1400 sawar. Chaudaris and zamindars inhabiting the tract between the Chenab and Jehlam, who had assisted in the operations against Khusro were given pieces of land as sayurghals.[7]

Afterwards, Jahangir came to know of a meeting between Khusro and Arjun Dev, the fifth guru of the Sikhs, that had taken place at Goindwal, sometime before the battle of Bhairowal. The emperor, by an order, made over the guru's houses, dwelling-places and children to Shaikh Farid Bokhari, and having confiscated his property, commanded that he should be put to death.[8] The guru's execution has been a subject of intense controversy among the scholars.[9]

Jahangir's own reference to the incident betrays a contempt for the guru's popularity among the Hindus and Muslims, and

7 Tuzuk, I, p.69 ; Maasiri-Jahangiri ,p.87 ; M.U., I, (Tr.) p.524.

8 Tuzuk, I, pp.72-73

9 The Sikh sources (Panth Prakash, pp.114-117 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.410-414) are inclined to hold the intrigues of Chandu and Prithia as solely responsible for the guru's tragic end. The author of Dabistan-i-Mazahab (p.234) writes that the guru had prayed for the welfare of Khusro and did not pay the enormous sum that was demanded of him as fine. Indubhushan Banerjee (Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol.II, pp 1-7), A.C. Banerjee (Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, pp.117-129) and Ganda Singh (The Martyrdom of Guru Arjun, The Punjab Past and Present, Vol.XII-I, April. 1978, pp.160-177) make it a case of religious persecution. On the other hand, Jadunath Sarkar (Auranzib, Vol.III, p.205), Beni Prasad (History of Jahangir, p.138) and Sri Ram Sharma (The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, p.87) assert that the guru died for political reasons.

a desire to put an end to his religious activities or to bring him within the fold of Islam. From the same source, it appears that the emperor was looking for an opportunity to put his ideas into practice, and the guru's meeting with the rebel prince provided him with the same.[10] But it would be worthwhile to look beyond the emperor's testimony on the issue.

On his accession, Jahangir had to contend with a political environment which was surcharged with suspicion and sedition ; and he sought to steer his way through it by eliminating such elements which he considered, rightly or wrongly, to be potentially dangerous. It may be pointed out that well before Khusro's defeat, Jahangir had punished Shaikh Nizam of Thanesar with banishment for having waited on the fugitive prince.[11] In the like manner, Shaikh Ibrahim Baba, an Afghan holyman, who maintained a religious establishment in one of the parganahs of Lahore, and who claimed a larged number of Afghans as his adherents, was handed over (shortly after the guru's execution) to Prince Parvez to be confined in the fort of Chunar.[12] Guru Arjun's punishment, though admittedly more severe, has to be seen in the same light. Moreover, the subsequent attitude of the emperor towards the followers of the deceased guru, makes it

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10 Tuzuk, I, pp.72-73.

11 ibid., p.60 ; Dabistan p.234.

12 Tuzuk, I, p.77.

abundantly clear that he was not inclined to persecute them as such, and was content to leave them alone.

At the time, when Khusro's revolt had engaged the attention of the government, two men named Raju and Amba carried on acts of oppression and tyranny, under the protection of Daulat Khan, the eunuch. At the orders of Jahangir, Raju was put to death while a sum of Rs.15,000 was extracted from Amba, who was reputed to be a rich man.[13]

The Sikhs once again attracted the notice of the Mughal government when radical changes were introduced in their way of life by the sixth guru, Hargobind (guruship 1606-1645). He assumed the spiritual as well as temporal leadership of his followers, a change which was symbolised by the construction of a building called Akal Takht, where dhadis sang the tales of herosim ; he directed his masands to bring offerings in the form of horses and weapons ; he maintained an armed bodyguard of fifty two volunteers ; he constructed a fort called Lohgarh (in Amritsar) where war-material was stored ; he engaged himself in hunting alongwith four hundred of his followers, and introduced among them such robust practices as wrestling.[14] According to the author of Dabistan-i-Mazahab, the guru maintained 700 horses in his stables, 300 horsemen and 60 gunners.[15] These

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13 Tuzuk, I, p.73.

14 Gurbilas Patshahi VI, pp.147-154 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp. 415-417 ; Panth Prakash, pp.119-120 ; Bhai Gurdas, Vaaran, Vaar 26, Pauri 24.

15 Dabistan, pp.235-236.

activities did not fail to rouse the suspicions of Jahangir, who summoned the guru to Delhi and had him confined in the fort of Gwalior.[16]

Later on, Jahangir seems to have been convinced that the guru and his followers, could in no way prove inimical to the interests of the state. Therefore, he ordered the release of Hargobind.[17] Henceforth, cordial relations developed between the emperor and the guru, numerous instances of which are offered by the traditional accounts of the Sikhs. It is even said that the guru, who possessed a body of 700 horsemen and five guns was entrusted with the task of supervising the work of provincial officers.[18] The author of Dabistan-i-Mazahab writes that during the reign of Shahjahan, Hargobind assisted the eunuch, Yar Khan, in the performance of his duties as *faujdar* somewhere inthe Punjab.[19] Though it was the usual practice with the Mughal government to

16 Gurbilas Patshahi VI, p.173 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp. 422-424 ; Panth Prakash, p.125 ; Dabistan, p.234.

According to Sikh tradition, it was Chandu who reported to Jahangir that the guru was making preparations to avenge himself for the death of his father. These sources as well as Dabistan maintain that Hargobind was imprisoned for the non-payment of fine imposed on his father.

17, The exact duration of Hargobind's confinement remains uncertain. According to Sikh tradition it was only 40 days, while Dabistan make it twelve years. However, I.B. Banerjee, (Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol.II, p.166) in well-argued discussion suggests that the guru's imprisonment lasted for about 5 years from 1607 to 1612.

18 Gurbilas Patshahi VI, p.186 ; Panth Prakash, p.131.

19 Dabistan, p.234.

utilize the services of any local chief who maintained an armed contingent, yet the application of this usage in the case of Hargobind remains uncertain owing to the lack of evidence.

In 1621,[20] the local officials of the sarkar of Bet Jalandhar Doab were called upon to face a situation, which seems to have arisen out of a clash of economic interests. Hargobind's move to lay the foundation of a town at Rohilla, a village on the bank of Beas, was opposed by Bhagwana, a Khatri of the Gherarh clan, who happened to be the Chaudhari of the village.[21]

The dispute took a violent turn leading to the death of the chaudhari. On the complaint of the son of the deceased, Abdul Khan, the 'subahadar' of Jalandhar, marched to the scene of the clash at the head of 1500 troops. In an encounter with the armed followers of the guru, the Mughal officer was defeated

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20 There has been a considerable controversy about the chronology of Hargobind's clashes with the Mughal forces. The dates suggested by Fauja Singh, on the basis of Bhat Vahis(Bardic accounts) have been followed here; see, Chronology of the Battles of Guru Hargobind, Proceedings, Punjab History Conference, 1971,pp.134-137.

21 Though the Chaudhari belonged to the class of primary zamindars, he performed functions of an intermediary nature ; he assisted the government officers in the collection of land revenue, a task for which he was entitled to various types of perquisites and a percentage of total revenue ; S.Nurul Hasan, Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India,p.32.

According to Panth Prakash (p.139) he was the amal-guzar of 85 villages. In Tawarikh Guru Khalsa,I,(p.468),the Chaudhari claimed that his writ ran in 82 villages.

and killed. Thereafter, the guru went on to lay the foundation of the town, which was given the name of Sri Hargobindpur.[22]

The guru posed no problem to the provincial administration till 1634, the date which marked the beginning of year-long hostilities between the imperialists and the followers of the guru. The traditional accounts of the Sikhs constitute the only source (with the exception of Dabitan-i-Mazahab) of information about these petty encounters. They tend to treat each 'battle' as an isolated incident, each being brought about by a separate set of causes.[23] But since the fighting took place between April 1634 and May 1635, during which the scene of action shifted rapidly from one place to the other - Amritsar, Maraj (Malwa), Kartarpur and Phagwara - it may not be unsafe to suggest that these skirmishes formed the successive phases of a single military operation,[24] undertaken by the Mughal government to curb the political ambitions of an armed group. As soon as the guru ceased to be a threat to the Mughal administration in the subah, the military offensive was discontinued. On the other hand, the guru, having lost all his possessions in an unequal struggle,[25] seems to have realised that it was impossible to

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22 Gurbilas Patshahi VI, pp.311-21 ; Panth Prakash, pp.139-140 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.468-475 ; Bansavalinama, p.62.

23 Gurbilas Patshahi VI, pp.271-280, 408-429, 444-450, 456-459 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.457-465, 508-533, 550-568, 571-572 ; Panth Prakash, pp.137-138, 142-144, 145, 147 ; Bansivalinama, pp 68, 70, 71.

24 Fauja Singh, loc.cit.

25 Dabistan, pp.234-235.

resist the Mughal authority with his meagre resources. Therefore, he left for Kiratpur,[26] a place in the hill state of Kahlur, which did not fall under the direct rule of the Mughals.

Subsequent developments tend to show that the Sikh gurus, even as they stayed in a semi-autonomous state, continued to maintain some sort of an armed following. But, having adopted a defensive (or neutral) attitude, they scruplously avoided any involvement in political matters. In 1645, when Najabat Khan led an expedition against Raja Tara Chand (of Kahlur) and arrested him, Har Rai, the successor of Hargobind, went to a place called Thapul (تھاپل), which fell in the territory of Raja Karam Prakash and situated near Sirhind.[27] A decade later, when the army of Aurangzeb was pursuing Dara Shikoh in the subah of Lahore, Har Rai joined the latter with a large army, only to leave on the pretext of mobilising more troops for the prince.[28] Possibly, the guru took advantage of the fluid situation created by the war of succession and left the shelter of the hills in order to establish himself at Amritsar. But, perceiving Dara's cause to be doomed to failure, decided to remain neutral in the ensuing struggle.

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26 Gurbilas Patshai VI, p.461 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, p.575 ; Panth Parkash, p.147 ; Bansavalinama, p.72.

27 Dabistan, p.238.

28 Khulasat, p.513.

With the accession of Aurangzeb began a new phase in the Mughal-Sikh relations. Instead of relying on the provincial officers, the emperor assumed complete control of all matters, particularly those relating to the Sikh gurus. And in this, he seems to have been motivated by communal rather than political considerations. That he had information about Har Rai's proposed military aid to Dara, is not known. Nevertheless, he issued summons to the guru, in order to seek certain clarifications about the Sikh faith. The guru sent his son, Ram Rai, to Delhi for the purpose, where the latter delivered himself upto royal influence. Besides, he performed certain acts of infidelity to his faith, only to be disqualified by his father from guruship.[29] When, in 1644, the Sikh community accepted Har Rai's nominee, Har Krishan, as the eighth guru, Ram Rai sought the intercession of the emperor to press his claim to the office. Aurangzeb ordered Har Krishan to appear at the court and prepared himself to act as a judge in the case of disputed succession - as if guru-ship was no different from a zamindari. However, the six-year old guru died on reaching Delhi, before he could appear at the court. Soon after, Teg Bahadur, a son of Hargobind, was proclaimed as the ninth guru at Bakala, near Amritssr.[30] Thus, Aurangzeb failed for the second time, to have his candidate accepted as the head of the Sikh community.

29 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.616-627 ; Panth Prakash, pp.151-152.

30 Bansavalinama, pp.76-81 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp 633-645 ; Panth Prakash, pp.152-160.

It appears that Aurangzeb's interest in the Sikhs was revived during his one and a half year stay at Hasan Abdal starting from 26 June,1674.[31] Possibly, it was then that he learnt that the Sikhs had built their places of worship in all towns and that a faqir had been appointed in each as a naib, who forwarded the offerings of the devotees- Jats, Khatris and other lowly castes - to the guru. Aurangzeb ordered the destruction of their holy places and the expulsion of naibs from them.[32] To what extent, the order was actually carried out in the subah is not known. But, it did not fail to evoke protest. For, it is recorded in the Maasir-i-Alamgiri that on Friday, 27 October,1676, when Aurangzeb was returning from the Jama Masjid of Lahore and was about to board a moveable chair (takht-i-rawan), one of the disciples of 'Guru Tegh Singh', threw two bricks, one of which reached the chair. The man was siezed by the guards and handed over to the kotwal.[33]

The emperor did not stop at that. At his orders, Tegh Bahadur was arrested near Ropar, brought to Delhi and put to death, on his refusal to embrace Islam (11 November 1675)[34] It is not possible to pin point definite causes which forced the emperor to take this extrene step. Ghulam Husain Khan's statement regarding

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31 Khafi Khan,II,p.241 ; Sarkar,J.N., Aurangzib, Vol.p.155.

32 Khafi Khan,II,pp.651-652.

33 Maasir-i-Alamgiri,p.154.

34 Important Dates Relating to the Sikh Gurus, Punjab Past and Present, Vol. XI,Part II,1977,p.216.

the forcible exactions levied by Tegh Bahadur and Hafiz Adam in the cis-Satluj tract,[35] has been rejected, and rightly so, on more than one ground.[36] The testimony of the author of Haqiqat-i-bina - O-uruj-i-firqah-i-sikhan - - which says that the guru collected war material in the places of worship -- does not hold good for he has, apparently, confused the pacifist Tegh Bahadur with his war-like successor.[37] The traditional accounts of the Sikhs, on the other hand, assert that the guru was punished for having dared to protest against the forcible conversion of Brahmins in Kashmir.[38] By all accounts, Tegh Bahadur became a victim of Aurangzeb's bigotry.

Around 1710, the subah of Lahore was thrown into turmoil on account of an uprising, which in its magnitude and intensity was unprecedented. Acting at the head of thirty to forty thousand followers (which at the outset consisted of four to five thousand poney-riders and seven to eight thousand footmen)

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35 Siyar, II, p.401.

36 Ganda Singh, The Martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur Studied in Historical Setting, Punjab Past and Present, Vol.XI, Part II, 1977, pp.201-212.

37 Haqiqat, f.3b.

38 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.698-734 ; Panth Prakash, pp.169-170 ; Macauliffe, M.A., The Sikh Religion, Vol.IV, pp.369-387.

Banda, the representative of the tenth guru of the Sikhs, deVastated the while country between the Jamuna and Satluj. The entire Muslim population of this area was subjected to unspeakable atrocities, which continued into the reign of Jahandar Shah.[39] In order to strengthen his hold, he ordered the royal officers, amils and jaqirdars to submit to him, and appointed his own men instead, with such designations as thanadar, tahsildar-i-mal etc.[40] Thereafter, he crossed the Satluj to enter the subah of lahore. He established himself at Manswal(مانسوال)[41] with the intention of attacking the Bet Jalandhar Doab.[42] Shams Khan, the faujdar of the Boab, marched from Sultanpur with four to five thousand cavalry and 30,000 footmen, gunners and archers. With the help of the zamindars of the region, he raised an additional force consisting of men of various professions -- peasants and artisans, particularly the weavers. In their enthusiasm, they made voluntary contributions of money and swore by the Quran to support one another in this jehad. In short, Shams Khan was able to mobilize one lakh men.[43]

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39 Akhbarat, Jahandar Shah's, Ist year, pp.105-106, 282.

40 Khafi Khan, II, pp.652-657 ; Iradat Khan, f.40b-41a ; Haqiqat, f.7b ; Siyar, II, p.400 ; Malcolm, A Sketch of the Sikhs, pp.61-2.

41 Situated in the Garshankar tahsil of district Hoshiarpur ; see, D.G. Hoshiarpur, 1904, p.29.

42 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 4th Year, p.372.

43 Khafi Khan, II, pp.657-658 ; M.U., II, (Tr.) p.553.

Meanwhile, Banda's followers numbering seventy to eighty thousand, marched to Rahon, a qasba on the right bank of the Satluj. They possessed some artillery and a huge quantity of gunpowder which they had looted after the fall of Sirhind. They came by a brick-kiln and used all the bircks available to construct a fort-like defensive arrangement, which was further protected by morchals. They sent threatening orders to the Chaudharis and qanungos of the neighbouring parganahs asking them to tender submission.[44]

The rebels initiated the proceedings of the battle by firing ten to twelve thousand balls and stones on the imperialists. But it had no apparent effect, for Shams Khan made a steady advance and forced the Sikhs to take shelter in the fort of Rahon, which had come into their possession before the battle. The Sikhs, aided by the provisions of food and materials of war left by the garrison, fortified themselves. But every night, they came out to fight skirmishes with the besiegers. In a surprise move, they evacuated the fort and fled away. Shams Khan was taken in by the ruse, for as soon as he returned to Sultanpur, the Sikhs turned back and recaptured the fort after ousting a garrison of 1000 left by the faujdar.[45]

The rebels followed up their success by marching to Lahore and plundering the parganahs in the environs of the city. Aslam Khan the deputy governor of the subah, acting in concert with Kazim

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44 Khafi Khan, II, p.658.

45 ibid., p.659 ; Kanwar Khan, p.103 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), p.553

Khan, the diwan and other officers, fortified the city wall. Having been joined by a large number of Muslims and Hindus, he encamped three of four kos outside the city, in order to check the advance of the raiders. Though the life and property of the people were rendered safe, yet the environs of the city upto Shalamar Bagh (which was two kos distant from it) suffered immensely.[46] Moreover, all towns and important settlements between Lahore and Delhi were pillaged for eight or nine months. A large number of people were killed, mosques and tombs were pulled down, and extensive areas went into the hands of the insurgents.[47]

The emperor, Bahadur Shah, realised that the resources of the provincial administration were not adequate enough to contain Banda's activities. Therefore, he entrusted the task to a strong imperial force under Muhammad Amin Khan. The latter defeated the rebels in a series of engagements and succeeded in ousting them from their newly acquired possessions between the Jamuna and Satluj. Banda was forced to seek refuge in his mountain stronghold of Mukhilspur, which lay in the territories of the 'Barfi Raja', the ruler of Sirmur.[48] The imperialists besieged

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46 For Banda's movements at Qasba Wazir Khan, 17 kos from Lahore, See, Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 5th and 6th Years, Vol.I, p.135.

47 Khafi Khan, II, p.660 ; Asrar-i-Samadi, p.6.

48 Khafi Khan, II, pp.669-671; Iradat Khan, f.42b ; Kamwar Khan, p,186 ; Haqiqat, f.7b.

the fort in a manner that the inmates were reduced to a state of starvation. The fort was captured, but Banda eluded the besiegers and escaped into the hills.[49]

After crossing the Beas,[50] Banda reached the upper Bari Doab and made it the scene of his renewed activities. Qutbuddin Khan Khweshgi, the faujdar of Jammu and his nephew Shams Khan, who had been deprived of the faujdari of Bet Jalandhar Doab, were killed in an encounter with the rebels.[51] Banda extended his activities to the Rachna Doab, where he was opposed by Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustamdil Khan. But on account of the differences between the two officers, Banda's affairs continued to prosper.[52] The death of Bahadur Shah (28 February 1712) and the ensuing war of succession further encouraged Banda in his aims. By now, his depredations spread as far as Ropar, where the peasants were forced to flee from their villages.[53]

However, the development of a schism within the ranks of Banda's followers weakened his position. A body of 5000 Sikhs led by Kahn Singh and Miri Singh, who did not approve of the innovations introduced by Banda in the Sikh way of life, agreed to collaborate with the imperialists. According to an agreement

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49 Khafi Khan, II, pp.671-673 ; Iradat Khan, f.43a-b ; Siyar, II, p.402; M.U., (Tr.) p.297.

50 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 5th & 6th Years, Vol.II, p.289.

51 Asrar-i-Samadi, pp.7-8 ; Kamwar Khan, p.125 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), pp, 554-555 ; Prachin Panth Prakash, p.126.

52 Irvine, W., Later Mughals, Vol.I, p.120.

53 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 5th & 6th Years, Vol.II, p.395

a Sardar was to be paid Rs.5 per day, a horseman Rs.30 per month and a foot-man Rs.15/- per month. To meet the expenses of the common kitchen and fodder for horses, the parganah of Jhabal was assigned to them in jagir.[54]

By 1715, the rebels had become audacious enough to construct a fort at Gurdaspur, between the qasba of Kalanaur and the northern hills,[55] which could give protection to fifty to sixty thousand men. Besides, the insurgents took possession of cultivable land of the neighbouring parganahs and carried on depredations from Lahore to Sirhind. Abdul Samad Khan, the governor of the Subah of Lahore, who was then engaged, at a distance of thirty to forty kos from the capital, in chastising the Bhatti, Kharral and Dogar tribes, turned back to meet the situation.[56] Qamruddin Khan, the son of Muhammad Amin Khan, was despatched to his help along with a contingent of ahadis and some artillery. The rival forces met near the fort of Gurdaspur and a sanguinary battle was fought. The rebels had a upper hand in the beginning, but the superior tactics and cool courage of the imperialists forced them to take refuge in the fort, which was closely invested.[57] As the seige

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54 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.130-138 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, Panth Prakash, p.487 ; Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, p.26

55 Asrar-i-Samadi, p.7.

56 ibid., p.9.

57 Khafi Khan, II, p.762 ; Asrar-i-Samadi pp.10-11 ; Kamwar Khan p.210.

progressed, entrenchments were raised and the supply of grain and fooder to the garrison was stopped. Faced with acute scarcity, the besieged were forced to eat the bark of trees and flesh of oxen. About 8000 of them died of starvation. But even in this pitiable condition they made frequent and desperate attacks on the imperialists.[58]

Reduced to the last extremity, Banda and his followers, numbering three to four thousand surrendered themselves. About 2000 of them were put to death, there and then, 'so that the vast plain was filled with blood as if it were a dish'. Banda and the surviving 1000 prisoners were chained heavily and sent to Delhi. Abdul Samad Khan did not forget to send 2000 heads stuffed with hay as trophies of war.[59] The man who had terrorized a major part of the subah of Lahore for well-nigh over five years was executed along with hundreds of his adherents in a most cruel manner. The governor, for his services, was bestowed with the rank of 7000 zat and 7000 sawar, and the title of Saif-ud-daula.[60]

Around 1718, the provincial administration was called upon to quell the insurrection of Isa Khan Manj, the Rajput zamindar

58 Khafi Khan, II, p.763 ; Asrar-i-Samadi, pp.12-13 ; Siyar, II, p.402 ; Haqiqat, f.8a.

59 Khafi Khan, II, pp.764-765.

60 ibid., pp.765.766 ; Asrar-i-Samadi, pp.14-15 ; Siyar, II, p.403. Haqiqat, ff.8b-9a ;

of Tihara.[61] He came into prominence following his participation on the side of Jahandar Shah in the civil war that took place at Lahore after the death of Bahadur Shah.[62] The new regime rewarded him with a mansab of 5000 and the faujdari of Bet Jalandhar Doab.[63] Taking advantage of the situation created by Banda's uprising, he engaged himself in highway robbery. He attacked trade caravans of Delhi and Lahore, and prevented the Jagirdars of the region from collecting their rents. He succeeded in befriending Samsam-ud-daula Khan-i-Dauran -- an alliance which further encouraged him in his unlawful pursuits. Things came to such a pass that the whole region, extending from the bank of the Beas, where he had constructed a fort called Badresa, to his own native place at Tihara on the Satluj, came into his virtual possession.[64]

Abdul Samad Khan appointed Shahdad Khan Khweshgi, the brother-in-law of the late Shams Khan, as the faujdar of Bet Jalandhar Doab and entrusted to him the task of suppressing Isa Khan. It may be noted that Husain Khan Khweshgi of Qasur, who had himself adopted an attitude of defiance towards the provincial

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61 A mahal in the sarkar of Sirhind, on the left bank of the Satluj ; Ain., II, (Tr.), p.300.

62 Jahandarnama, ff.10a-34a ; Iradat Khan, ff.45a-55b. Khafi Khan, II, pp.683-689 ; Siyar, II, pp 382-385.

63 Kamwar Khan, p.125.

64 Asrar-i-Samadi, pp.17-18 ; Khafi Khan, II, p.767 ; M.U., I.(Tr), pp.687-688 ; Gupta H.R., Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab, pp.27-28, n.1.

administration, did not want Isa Khan to be eliminated, for obvious reasons.[65] Nevertheless, Shahdad Khan felt bound to carry out the orders of the governor and engaged himself in enlisting recruits for the punitive expedition. Inspite of lack of funds and supplies, he clashed with the retainers of the rebellious zamindar at Tihara. The newly recruited men among the imperialists could not withstand the impact of the first encounter and began to flee. Just then, a stray arrow killed Isa Khan and he was immediately beheaded. His head, his young son and his diwan were sent to the court.[66] An almost sure defeat was turned into a brilliant victory and Shahdad Khan returned to his home in Qasur. He withheld a part of the spoils of war and ignored all the threats of the governor, Abdul Samad Khan. The latter contemplated action against the erring officer, but restrained himself.[67]

Next to attract the attention of the provincial administration was Husain Khan Khweshgi of Qasur. Unlike his brothers, Bayazid Khan and Pir Khan, he did not enter the imperial service but opted for the profession of a free-booter. He carried out predatory raids in some of the rich and fertile parganahs in the environs of Qasur and Lahore. Having outsted the agents of jagirdars and other imperial officers, he appropriated the revenues

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65 M.U., I, (Tr.), p.688

66 Asrar-i-Samadi, pp.19-22 ; Khafi Khan, II, p.768.

67 M.U., II, (Tr.), pp.748-749.

of these areas. The state of political instability prevailing in the *subah* on account of the war of succession following the death of Bahadur Shah, and the rebellions of Banda and Isa Khan Manj, provided him with ample opportunity. It was often heard that the Sayyid brothers, who were at the helm of affairs in the court, instigated Husain Khan to create problems for Abdul Samad Khan, and for this service, a *mansab* of 7000 and the governorship of the *subah* of Lahore was held out to him as a bait.[68]

In order to bring the trouble-maker to the right path, Abdul Samad Khan assigned to him the *faujdari* of Lakhi Jungle. But the move failed to yield the desired results for Husain Khan swallowed up the revenues of his new charge, as he had done in the case of Qasur.[69] The governor sent his *amil*, Qutbuddin Khan Rohilla, to bring the rebel to obedience. However, Husain Khan defeated and killed him in an encounter. Since the chastisement of the Khan could not longer be postponed, Abdul Samad Khan marched at the head of about 8000 soldiers against him.[70]

As the hostilities commenced, the rebel horde pierced through the artillery fire and overwhelmed the imperial *harawal* led by Karim Quli Khan. But the men holding the right wing viz. Jani Khan, Rahmatullah Khan and Hafizullah Khan, stood firm and exhibited extra-ordinary skill. The day, however, belonged to

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68 Khafi Khan, II, p.861 ; *Asrari-i-Samadi*, p.24 ; Kamwar Khan, p.297 ; *Siyar*, II, p.425 ; *M.U.*, I, (Tr.), pp.642-643.

69 *M.U.*, I, (Tr.), p.642.

70 Khafi Khan, II, p.862 ; Kamwar Khan, p.294 ; *Siyar*, II, p.426.

Aghar Khan, who led the left wing of the imperialists, and who headed a body of Turani archers. In one of his determined attack, Mustafa Khan the nephew of Husain Khan, was killed. There was also a personal combat between Abdul Samad Khan and Husain Khan. Thereafter, Aghar Khan's valour turned the proceedings of the battle in favour of the imperialists. At this juncture, the elephant driver of Husain Khan was slain. Shah Bhik, the spiritual preceptor of Husain Khan, who was sitting beside his disciple in the howdah, also lost his life. Soon after, a musket-shot hit Husain Khan and killed him ; and this was the signal for his followers to disperse and flee.[71] Thus came to an end the turbulence caused by the Afghan rebel of Qasur. The victorious governor rewarded his commanders for their services. Aghar Khan was recommended for a promotion of 500 zat and 200 sawar, besides the gift of an elephant and a sword. Though Sayyid Abdullah Khan did not relish the success of Abdul Samad Khan, yet in order to avoid popular censure, bestowed on him the title of Saif-ud-doula Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur Diler Jang.[72]

Zakariya Khan, the son ofAbdul Samad Khan, enjoyed the longest tenure (1716-1745) as the governor of the subah. He was, for the most part, engaged in suppressing the Sikh insurgency, which had continued to persist, notwithstanding the fall of Banda and a

71 Khafi Khan, II, pp.863-864 ; Asrar-i-Samadi, pp.26-27 ; Kamwar Khan, p.295 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.643.

72 Khafi Khan, II, p.865 ; Siyar, II, p.426.

schism within the ranks of his followers. To meet the situation, the provincial administration seems to have adopted a double-edged policy. Firstly, to create conditions conducive to normal economic processes, so as to bring prosperity to the masses as also additional revenues to the exchequer. Secondly, to curb ruthlessly the predatory activities of the roving bands of Sikh free-booters. It will be seen that the second part appealed more to the provincial government than the first.

i) The governor appears to have felt that with the elimination of Banda, the alliance with a section of the Sikhs had become unnecessary, and that it was a mere burden on the provincial treasury. Accordingly, the (Tatv Khalsa) Sikhs who had been serving the provincial government for quite some time, were deprived of their jagir as well as rozina. They were asked to return to their native villages and engage themselves in cultivating the land. They were granted a discount of fifty percent in the land revenue.[73]

ii) Applications were invited from the people who had suffered loss of property during the course of Banda's depredations, so that the booty could be recovered from the plunderers and restored to the rightful owners. Since many people filed false claims, the Sikhs began to suffer from exactions of the government. The measure plunged the while region extending from the Indus to Jamuna into turmoil.[74]

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73 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.97-98 ; Panth Prakash, pp, 539-540.

74 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.98 ; Panth Prakash, pp.541-545.

iii) The governor raised an army of 20,000 men.[75] Half of it was stationed at the capital, while the other half(called Gashti Fauj) was divided into ten units, each of which consisted of 1000 troopers. The latter were provided with fast-running horses and light guns called zanburak. They were required to guard all inhabited areas and roads against all encorachments, and to apprehend the Sikhs whereever found, to be sent to Lahore in chains.[76] Similar orders were given to officers posted at various thanas and tahsils.[77]

iv) It was ordained that if a Sikh was found in a village, the headman concerned would be deprived of his position and punished with confiscation of property. But rewards were promised to those who co-operated with the government in its campaign against the Sikhs -- Rs.5 for help in capturing a Sikh, Rs.10 for delivering up a Sikh alive and Rs.25 for the head of a Sikh slain.[78]

vI When the above mentioned measures failed to yield adequate results, Zakariya Khan appealed to the Muslim population in the subah to arm itself and participate in a crusade against the Sikhs. In response to his call, thousands of Muslims belonging to different races, castes and professions -- Mughals, Pathans,

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75 Haqiqat, f.9b ; Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, I, p.108.

76 Kanhya Lal, Tarikh-i-Punjab, p.65 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.101 ; Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, p.44.

77 Panth Prakash, p.549.

78 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.106-107 ; Panth Prakash, p.626.

Balochis, Syeds, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Telis, Weavers, Arians -- collected under the Haidari Jhanda, near the Shalamar Bagh. However, in an action fought at Kahnuwan, they were defeated and dispersed by the Sikhs.[79]

vi) Punitive measures having failed to suppress the Sikhs, Zakariya Khan adopted, with the approval of the emperor, Muhammad Shah, a policy of appeasement towards them (1790 Bikrami, 1733 A.D.). It involved the grant to the Sikhs of a jagir of 12 villages worth Rs.1.25 lakhs, a cash payment of Rs.5000 per month and a khilat on one of their compatriots, Kapur Singh, a Virk Jat of Faizalpur. There was almost an immediate improvement in the law and order situation, and the revenue started flowing into the treasury. When the Sikhs found the concessions inadequate to meet their needs, they again took to highway robbery. The provincial administration felt constrained to withdraw the measure after about two years.[80]

vii) In an attempt to demoralize the Sikh insurgents, the Mughals committed certain acts of sacrilege in some of their religious places. Mani Singh, the priest-in-chief of Harimandir at Amritsar was allowed to hold a congregation on the occasion of Diwali (1738) on a promise to pay Rs.5000. However, the strict security arrangements prevented the Sikhs from reaching the place to make their offerings. On his failure to pay the stipulated

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79 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p .110-112 ; Panth Prakash, pp.594-600.

80 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.211-214 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp. 117-121 ; Panth Prakash, pp.637, 667.

amount, Mani Singh was tortured to death.[81] In another incident, Qutbuddin the administrator of Jalandhar burnt the Tham Sahib gurdwara at Kartarpur.[82] Similarly, Massa Ranghar, a petty official took possession, for a short time, of Harimandir at Amritsar, indulged in drinking and smoking, and arranging the performance of dancing girls, within the precincts of the holy place.[83]

viii) The above measures appear to have failed to contain the activities of the Sikh guerilla bands, who carried out with impunity widespread plundering activities in the villages of the subah. Thereupon, Zakariya Khan summoned (sometime before the invasion of Nadir Shah) a large number of chaudharis whose function it was to assist the provincial administration in the collection of land revenue from their respective villages[84]. since,

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81 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.222-227 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.124-127 ; Panth Prakash , pp.690-694.

82 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.130 ; Panth Prakash, pp.709-710.

83 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.236-238 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.131-32 ; Panth Prakash, pp.711-715.

84 These chaudharis have been enumerated as follows:- Chaudhari Rama Randhawa of Ghaniya, Karma Chhina, Mana of Naushehra, Dharam Das of Jodhnagar, Sahib Rai Sandhu, Dilbagh Rai Sarao, Haibat Mal of Dhanseta, Lalu Birk of Bhikhi, Molak Rai Sandhu of Bundala, Diala Waraich of Gujranwala, Sham Shah Khatri, Gariya of Mattu, Dianat Rai of Sodhra, Ugarsen Khatri of Aminabad, Gulab Rai Bains of Malpur, Maddo Chaudhari of Majitha, Jodh of Khekhar, Malemi Gill of Naushera, Natha Uppal of Amma, Hasna Sandhu of Sirawali, Dala Randhawa of Kathu, Chanchal Sandhu of Chicha Bhagna, Jagga Sandhu of Attari, Kajla Randhawa of Bat-ala, Bhagu Kalo of Bhagowal, Akal Bagga, Rai Thanbada, Rai Harchand of Chasma, Rai Khushali Sandhu of Kana, Bhima Dhillon of Qasur, Diala Kalo of Saidwala, Nibahu Sandhu of Bhura, Milkha Sandhu of Kachha, Hayat Khan of Thatha, Pir Muhammad Chattha, Behram Khan Manchar, Qadir Baksh Nidhal, Sahib Khan Tumana, Ismail Khan Mandiyal of Sialkot, Fateh Khan Gheb of Kot Gheban, Auliya Gheb of Pindi Gheb.(Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.133-134).

the governor held them responsible for the renewed unlawful activities of the Sikhs, he severely reprimanded them for their negligence. Acting in response to his instructions, the chaudharis began to act as guides to the mobile contingents, who were engaged in apprehending the Sikhs in the countryside.[85]

Apart from the Sikhs, 'there were other lawless classes in that province, predatory by instinct and tribal usage, who were ever on the look out for an opportunity to plunder cities and caravans and sieze the rents of villages.[86] For instance, Jang Panah, belonging to the tribe of the Bhattis, operated between Hasan Abdal and the Ravi. A punitive expedition was sent under the diwan of the subah, Raja Kaura Mal, who captured the brigand chief and put him to death. In the like manner, Jang Mir Mar, a zamindar carried out depredations in the area extending from Lahore to the Satluj. An imperial force under Qazaq Beg Khan apprehended him, to be ultimately, hung on the gallows.[87]

The invasion of Nadir Shah (1739) was induced by a number of factors -- the incompetence and imbecility of the reigning monarch; the acute rivalry among the various factions within the nobility on the question of the appropriation of the

85 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.133.

86 Sarkar, J.N., Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, p.114.

87 M.U., II, (Tr.), pp.1028-1029.

rapidly declining number of jagirs and high offices of the state,[88] the dismemberment of the Mughal empire owing to rise of the Marthas, Jats and Rohillas ; the inability to impose imperial authority over such provinces as Bengal, Awadh and the Deccan ; the failure of the Mughal empire to maintain proper diplomatic intercourse with Persia,[89] and inability to send requisite military and financial aid to the north-western most subah of Kabul.[90]

Having wrested Qandhar from the Afghans (March, 1738) and Kabul from the Mughals (June 1738),[91] Nadir Shah's next target was the subah of Lahore. In the absence of any assistance from the central government, Zakariya Khan was forced to depend on his own limited resources.[92] Having perhaps anticipated the situation, he had established cordial relations with the Persian ruler. In fact, during the past two decades, all Persian envoys passing through Lahore on their way to the Mughal court had been invariably received well by Abdul Samad Khan and Zakariya Khan.[93]

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88 Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, p.244

89 Riazul Islam, Indo-Persian Relations, p.144.

90 Tazkira, p.9 ; Haqiqat, ff.9b-10a ; Siyar, II, pp.479-481.

91 Tazkira, pp.5-8, ; Bayan-i-Waqai, pp.20-21. Kaul, H.K., (Tr.), Ballad on Nadi Shah's Invasion of India, pp.39.40.

92 Anand Ram Mukhlis wrote (Tazkira, pp.10-11) that if the emperor had provided Zakariya Khan with the necessary military aid, the result of Nadir's invasion would have been different.

93 Riazul Islam, op.cit, pp.146-147.

Undeterred by his weak position and aware of his responsibility as the governor of the frontier province, Zakariya Khan engaged himself in making arrangements of defence. He placed 5000 men under Qalandar Khan at the fort of Kachha Mirza on the Chenab, about thirty miles north of Lahore.[94] He himself took up position on the bank of the Ravi, threw up entrenchments round his camp and placed the guns in readiness.[95]

During the course of their advance, the invaders defeated and killed Qalandar Khan, expelled the garrison and occupied the said fort.[96] It was probably at this time, that Nadir Shah sent his Wazir Abdul Baqi Khan with a letter for Zakariya Khan, who was advised to give up all thought of resistance and to offer his submission, failing which he would have to face terrible consequences.[97] The threat was, apparently, disregarded by Zakariya Khan. Meanwhile, on their way to Lahore, the Persians plundered the towns of Gujrat, Wazirabad and Aminabad. After crossing the bridge of Shah Daula on the Degh, they outflanked the defenders stationed on the Ravi, crossed the river downstream and encamped at Shalamar Bagh.[98] A large body of soldiers led by the zamindar of Adina (?), which was on its way to join the forces of Zakariya

94 Jahangusha-i-Nadiri, p.231.

95 Tazkira, p.12.

96 Jahangusha-i-Nadiri, p. 231 ; Kaul, op-cit., pp.42-43.

97 Tazkira, pp. 13-15.

98 ibid., p.16 ; Kaul, op.cit., p.44.

Khan, clashed with the Persians at Mulkhpur, six <u>kos</u> from Lahore, only to be defeated and dispersed.[99]

Hostilities commenced between the Persians and the forces of Zakariya Khan, which consisted of fourteen to fifteen thousand cavalry and a number of militia.[100] Yahya Khan, the eldest son of the governor, cut his way through the combat with a few followers and proceeded to Delhi, in order to convey the news of the developments at Lahore. Meanwhile, Zakariya Khan, who was caught in an unequal fight, thought it prudent to sue for peace. On 14 January, 1739, he appeared before Nadir Shah, who received him with great consideration. The governor presented a few elephants, some costly gifts and cash amounting to twenty lakh rupees, a part of which was paid from the provincial treasury and the remainder was contributed by wealthy inhabitants. As such he was able to save the city of Lahore from the horrors of death and destruction. On his part, Nadir Shah bestowed on Zakariya Khan the governorship of Lahore, a <u>chapkan</u> of gold brocade, a jewelled dagger, a horse with gold embroidered saddle etc. Hayatullah Khan, a son of the governor, was taken in the Persian army as a commander of 500 horse,[101] evidently as a hostage for his

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99 <u>Jahangusha-i-Nadiri</u>, p.231 ; The Contingent of Batala, referred to in the Ballad on Nadir Shah's Invasion(pp.46-47), could have been the same as led by the zamindar of Adina (Adinanagar, which lay to the north of Batala, in the upper Bari Doab)

100 Lockhart, L., <u>Nadir Shah</u>, p.130.

101 <u>Tazkira</u>, p.17 ; <u>Bayan-i-Waqai</u>, p.21 ; <u>Siyar</u>, II, 482 ; <u>Haqiqat</u>, f.10b. ; Kaul, <u>op.cit</u>., p.47.

father's fidelity.[102] Nadir Shah also issued gold coins from Lahore, which bore the following inscription, 'Nadir the Sultan' on the obverse and 'Struck at the Capital of Lahore, 1151 A.H., May God preserve his reign', on the reverse.[103]

The disastrous defeat of the Indian army at Karnal at the hands of Nadir Shah, followed by an orgy of spoilation and carnage at Delhi, are events which do not concern us here. But the treaty of Shalimar,[104] which settled the peace between the Mughal and Persian empires, was of special significance to the subah of Lahore. Not only was the huge chunk of territory lying west of the Indus ceded to Persia, but certain mahals situated on the east of this river -- Gujrat, Sialkot, Pasrur and Aurangabad[105] -- the revenues of which had been assigned to the subah of Kabul, were transferred to the Persians for a period of three years. Zakariya Khan seems to have felt that the appointment of Persian officers to collect revenue from these areas might lead to a clash either with his own sub-ordinates or with the native population. Therefore, he himself accepted the assignment on a promise to pay Rs.20 lakhs a year to the Persians.[106] When Nadir Shah was about to depart from Delhi, he sent Abdul Baqi Khan and Hayatullah Khan to

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102 Irvine, op.cit., p.333.

103 Latif, S.M., History of the Punjab, p.202.

104 Tazkira, pp.59-61 ; Bayan-i-Waqai, p.34.

105 Gujrat was a mahal in the Chenhat Doab, Sialkot and Pasrur in the Rachna Doab ; (Ain, II, Tr., pp.323-325). Aurangabad remains unidentified.

106 Tazkira, p.66 ; Siyar, II, p.485.

raise a sum of a crore of rupees for him.. The payment was duly made to the Persian monarch, when the latter reached Lahore on his return journey.[107] At this juncture, Zakariya Khan secured the release of Indian Prisioners present in the Persian camp.[108]

Exercising sovereign authority over the Mughal territories, Nadir Shah increased the mansab of Zakariya Khan from 7000 to 8000. The possessions of Khudayar Khan, a chief of Sind, which were situated on the east of the Indus, were also bestowed on him.[109] He was, further, asked to prepare himself to participate in a campaign against Khudayar Khan. Zakariya Khan was also directed to assist the Persian officers in apprehending the deserters from Nadir's army, who had taken refuge in the subahs under his charge viz. Lahore and Multan. Later on, Zakariya Khan as well as his son, Hayatullah Khan, reached Larkana to join the Persian expedition in Sind. Immensely pleased, Nadir Shah granted the title of Shahnawaz Khan on the governor's son.[110]. It may be noted that Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, did not object to Nadir Shah's treatment of Zakariya Khan as a subordinate owing allegiance to himself. On the other hand, he advised Zakariya Khan to serve the Persian invader in a manner he was required to do.[111]

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107 Tazkira, p.63.

108 M.U., II, (Tr.), p.1029.

109 Tazkira, p.66.

110 ibid., pp.70-71 ; Siyar, II, p.487.

111 Riazul Islam, op.cit., pp.158-159.

From the above account, it becomes evident that the problems faced by the Mughal administration in the *subah* of Lahore arose, in the main, from the activities of the militant Sikhs and, to a lesser extent, of the refractory *zamindars* and other malcontents. The success achieved by it in withstanding all challenges to its authority (particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) may be attributed to the active interest taken by the central government in its affairs as well as the support received from the *zamindars* (as in the case of Prince Khusro's revolt). It was, also on account of these factors that the provincial government withstood a revolt of unprecedented magnitude led by Banda. But these conditions rapidly dis-appeared soon after. The failure of the central government to come to the aid of the provincial administration and the inability of the *jagirdars* to maintain their contingents in the wake of a crisis in the *jagirdari* system, weakened the authority of the Mughals in the region, almost beyond cure.

The peasant-proprietors (a section of whom, particularly between the Satluj and Ravi, had entered the ranks of the *Khalsa*), who had suffered for a long time under an oppressive system of taxation imposed through the intermediary *zamindars*, initiated a movement of violent protest against their long-standing oppressors. The wide ramifications

of the struggle exposed the ugly fact that Zakariya Khan's administration (which has been acclaimed by the Persian chronicles for its efficiency and vigour) was not equipped with the means to salvage an explosive situation.

Chapter V

THE SUBAH OF LAHORE AND MUGHAL IMPERIALISM : NORTH-WESTERN REGION

During the first thiry years of his reign, Akbar had to contend with forces which threatened to hinder the process of internal consolidation. To begin with, the pockets of Afghan resistance surviving in Delhi, the Punjab hills and Bengal were uprooted. Thereafter, the imperial armies were engaged for a long time in the eastern provinces, suppressing the rebellious activities of the Mughal nobility. Simultaneously, a military and diplomatic offensive was unleashed against the petty principalities of Rajputana and the northern hills. To crown it all, the existing administrative institutions were streamlined and new ones were evolved to be implemented in the conquered territories.[1]

However, the situation prevailing in the north-western part of the empire was unfavourable. Mirza Hakim had been ruling over Kabul as an independent sovereign and had, on two occasions, made inroads into the Indian territory, Yet his death on 30 July 1585,[2] exposed the entire north-

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1 For details see, Srivastava, A.L., Akbar the Great, Vol.I & II.

2 A.N., III, p.466.

western region to the imperialistic designs of the Uzbegs, the long-standing adversaries of the Timurides.

Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the master of extensive territories in Turkistan, ousted the Timurid princes, Mirza Sulaiman and his grandson Mirza Shahrukh, from Badakhshan in 1584 and annexed it to his empire. Thus, the buffer existing between the Mughal subah of Kabul and the Uzbeg possessions disappeared. Kabul, in view of its uncertain condition after 1585, could easily be the next victim of Uzbeg imperialism, because a group of Mirza Hakim's adherents in Kabul, led by his uncle Faridun Khan, was inclined favourably towards Abdullah Khan. These people could make the two teenaged sons of the late Mirza as instruments of furthering their selfish interests.

And what was worse, Qandhar, which had been, for brief periods, under the occupation of Humayan, Kamran, Babur and even Timur, was annexed by Shah Tahmasp of Persia in 1558, probably taking advantage of Akbar's early difficulties and involvement within the empire.[3] Situated in southern Afghanistan, Qandhar constituted in association with Kabul and Ghazni, the most natural and logical frontier of the Indian empire. Its loss had threatened the peace and stability of the rich Indo-Gangetic plain, if not the empire as a whole.

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3 A.N., III, pp.467, 472-473.

More complex than the above-mentioned problems was the turbulence of the various Afghan tribes. The area situated on the north-western boundary of the subah of Lahore and lying to the north- of the river Kabul was Swat-Bajaur, which was inhabited by the Yusufzais. According to Abul Fazl, it was thirty kos long and fifteen to twenty kos wide ; the Yasufzais had 40,000 households in Swat and 3,000 in Bajaur and they could mobilize one lakh men in the field.[4] Peshawar, Tirah and Lower Bangash were placed to the south of this river and peopled by the Afridis, Orakzais, Mohmands and Khalils,[5] who had ranged themselves behind the famous Raushaniya leader, Jalala.[6] The tribesmen presented a two-fold problem. First, they were in complete control of the region through which passed the highway joining Lahore and Kabul via the Khyber Pass ; they often disrupted this communication making it difficult for the Mughals to extend their sway up to the scientific frontier of India. Second, since these tribesmen were often allowed to take refuge in Uzbeg territories ; they could allow a trouble-free passage

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4 A.N., III, pp. 476, 481.

5 For the ethnology of the various Afghan tribes see, Ibbetson,D., Punjab Castes, pp.57-93.

6 For tenets of Raushaniya sect, refer to, Dabistan-i-Mazahab, pp.304-310 ; Rose,H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.III, pp.335-338. Tariq Ahmed, Religio-Political Ferment in the North West Frontier During the Mughal Period, pp.31-67.

to Abdulla Khan into India, should the latter decide to embark on such an enterprise.

These developments though ominous and unfavourable in themselves, posed a potent threat to the peace and stability in the subah of Lahore. For, similar conditions prevailing in the north-west, had invariably created widespread disturbances in the area under study, ever since the Ghaznavides occupied it. It may not be out of place to mention that, faced with the threat of Mughal re-entry and the Gakkhar menance, a Islam Shah toyed with the idea of setting up Mankot, in the Siwaliks, as a provincial capital in place of Lahore, which was to be destroyed. It was feared that Lahore which possessed a large number of traders and craftsmen, could easily furnish a large invading army with the materials of war.[7]

Akbar did not entertain such defeatist ideas. For the purpose of settling the north-western part of sub-continent, he appears to have evolved a plan, which was comprehensive in its scope and imperialistic in its aim. It involved the extension of the north-western boundary of the empire to the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandhar line, the subjugation of the unruly Afghan tribes inhabiting the area west of the Indus, the occupation of Kashmir, Thatta and Baluchistan, and even an invasion of the Uzbeg territories to curb the

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7 A.N., II, p.80.

ambitions of Abdullah Khan.[8] Such a plan could only be put into action from Lahore which occupied a central position in north-western segment of the empire. It was connected by road with Srinagar in the north, Peshawar and Kabul in the north-west, Multan, Bhakkar and Thatta in the south-west, From this point, imperial armies could be despatched in these directions, and they could be aided by regular supplies of materials of war and other necessaties. As such, Lahore could serve as the most convenient base for military operations aimed at solving the above mentioned problems. It is no wonder that it remained the capital of the Mughal empire for a period of about fourteen years from 1585 to 1598.

With these objects in view, the emperor left Fatehpur Sikri for Lahore towards the close of August,1585. Kabul was the first to draw his attention. Wali Beg Zualqadar and Fatehullah were sent to that trouble-spot with the aim of restraining Kabuli nobles from throwing in their lot with the Uzbegs. Kunwar Man Singh, then posted on the Indus was also despatched, at the head of an army, to Kabul apparently to convey the message of Akbar's goodwill but in reality to impose Mughal control over that province.[9]

8 A.N., III, pp.493-494.

9 ibid., p.467.

Marching through the subah of Lahore, the emperor reached Rohtas, and commissioned Qasim Khan to make the highway to Kabul including the Khyber pass, fit for the movement of traffic -- a task which was duly accomplished.[10] Besides, the efforts of Man Singh, Khwaja Shamsuddin and Shah Beg succeeded in clearing the Khyber of the obstruction of Raushaniyas and securing the submission of the Kabuli nobles, including the troublesome Faridun Khan and the sons of Mirza Hakim, all of whom paid homage to the emperor at Rawalpindi.[11] Towards the close of 1585, Man Singh was placed in charge of Kabul.[12]

At this juncture the Mughals secured the services of the tribe of Khattaks, who had been suffering from the Yusufzai, Khalil and Mohmand aggression. It appears that they sought to strengthen their position in the region by accepting the emperor's commission. Malik Akor, the Khattak chief undertook to guard the imperial highway between Attock and Peshawar. In return, he was given an extensive jagir south of the river Kabul between Khairabad and Naushehra, besides the right to collect tolls from the road.[13]

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10 A.N., III, pp.470-471.

11 ibid., p.473 ; Badauni, II, p.348.

12 A.N., III, p.476.

13 Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, pp.211-212 ; Ibbetson, D., Punjab Castes, pp.83-84 ; Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.II, p.528.

At about this time, Nazr Be Uzbeg, one of the important amirs of Abdullah Khan, who had fallen out with the latter, left his country for India. He was accompanied by his three sons -- Qambar Be, Shadi Be and Baqi Be -- who had also reached the rank of amirs. The emperor sent Shaikh Farid Bakshi and Ahmed Beg Kabuli along with a number of ahadis to receive the visitors, who found their path blocked at the Khyber by the Raushaniyas. Man Singh who had been deputed (20 December 1585) to take the charge of Kabul, was asked to conduct the Uzbeg noble through the Pass. Though, he himself was besieged by the tribesmen at Ali Masjid, he managed to drive them away.[14]

These developments, coupled with the construction of a bridge on the Indus and the presence of the emperor at Attock, compelled the Uzbeg ruler to abandon his designs on Kabul. Since, he feared a Mughal attack on Badakhshan itself, he thought it prudent to send a friendly mission to the Mughal court under Mir Quraish.[15]

When Man Singh was sent to take the charge of Kabul, Zain Khan Koka was despatched to Swat and Bajaur to put an end to the disruptive activities of the Yusufzais. He was reinforced, after short intervals, by additional contingents under the command of Shaikh Farid Bakhshi, Said Khan Gakkhar, Raja Birbal and finally Hakim Abul Fateh. Meanwhile, the Koka had

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14 A.N., III, p.486 ; Badauni, II, p.351 ; T.A., II(Tr.), pp.611-612.

15 A.N., III, p.487.

succeeded in subjugating the entire Yusufzai country except Buner, and had laid the foundation of a fort at Chakdara. He was joined by Raja Birbal and Hakim Abul Fateh at Malakand and the three sat in conference at Chakdara. Disregarding Zain Kahn's advice -- that one of the armies, either his or theirs, should hold the fort while the other should penetrate the hills -- the two nobles prevailed upon him to march with their combined forces towards Buner, through the Karakar Pass. During the course of the march (12 February 1586), a large number of tribesmen were captured and a vast booty was acquired.[16] But for Zain Khan's vigilance and gallantry, it would not have been possible to cut through the stubborn opposition put up by the tribesmen.

On reaching Khanpur, the commanders met again to consider their next move. Since the defiles ahead were too difficult to be traversed, Zain Khan suggested that they should fortify themselves then and there, for they could not be attacked at that position from the hill-tops and also because the provisions were available there in plenty, and they could even secure the submission of the enemy in return for the release of the prisoners who were in their custody.[17] But, disregarding all sane advice, Zain Khan's colleagues pressed forward to cross the Malandarai Pass, and in the

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16 A.N., III, pp.474-483 ; Badauni, II, pp.349-351. T.A., II(Tr.), pp.607-609.

17 A.N., III, p.484.

process they were overtaken by the darkness of the night. The tribesmen saw their opportunity and made a furious attack on the imperialists, who were thrown into a stampede of men, equipment, horses and elephants. In one of the worst disasters, no less than 8,000 Mughal soldiers, including Raja Birbal, perished.[18]

The above experience had shown that the tribals could not be brought to obedience by force. Therefore, the next expedition against the Yusufzais, sent under Raja Todar Mal and Prince Murad, was instructed to secure the submission of the tribesmen and not their annihilation. Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fateh also joined the operations.[19] On the recall of the prince, Man Singh, who was engaged in a campaign against the Raushaniyas, was ordered to join Todar Mal. The two commanders established their base camps near Ohind and Koh-i-Lungar respectively, in order to punish the unruly Afghans. The constant pressure of the imperialists coupled with a shortage of food and outbreak of diseases, compelled Sultan Quraish, Bustan Kalu, Sultan Bayazid and some other Yusufzai chiefs to submit before Ismail Quli Khan.[20]

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18 Badauni,II,p.350 ; T.A.,II,(Tr.),pp.609-610 ; Abul Fazl (A.N.,III,p.485) understandably limits the casualties to 5,000.

19 A.N.,III,p.485.

20 ibid.,p.495 ; T.A.,II(Tr.),pp.610 ; Badauni,II,p.351.

In November 1586, the Mohmand and Ghori tribes who had 10,000 households in Peshawar valley and who had joined the banner of Jalala, attacked and killed Sayyid Hamid Bokhari, the Mughal commandant of that fort. In this raid, Raushaniyas had also participated with 20,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. Before the imperial forces under Zain Khan Koka from the court and Man Singh from Kabul could reach the scene, the tribesmen had succeeded in blocking all communication through the Khyber, an act in which they were supported by the Yusufzais and other Afghan tribes.[21] Man Singh, who was escorting Mirza Sulaiman, fought his way with great difficulty to Ali Masjid near the Khyber. On the arrival of Madho Singh, at the head of the contingent of Raja Bhawan Das, the Raushaniyas dispersed.[22] Soon after the troops led by Zain Khan also reached the scene.[23] As a result of the exertions of the imperialists, the road to Kabul became safe from the depredations of the tribesmen. Military outposts were garrisoned with experienced men.[24]

In April 1587, Man Singh and Mattalib Khan were deputed to chastize the Raushaniyas. Guided by Jamal Tariki, Mattalib Khan reached Dar Samand, situated to the south-west

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21 A.N.,III,pp.510-514 ; T.A.,II.,(Tr.),p.619.

22 Badauni,II,pp.354-355 ; T.A.,II,(Tr.),p.620.

23 A.N.,III,p.514.

24 ibid.,p.519.

of Peshawar.In August 1587, tribesmen numbering 1000 horse and 1500 foot attacked the imperialists, but they were beaten back with heavy losses. Though, Jalala managed to escape, the Afridi and Orakzai tribes, who had joined the Raushaniya movement, offered their submission.[25]

After his recent discomfiture, Jalala entered Swat and Bajaur and entering into a collusion with the Yasufzais, fortified himself at the Nawala Pass, Thereupon, Zain Khan who had replaced (1587) Man Singh at Kabul,[26] and other imperial commanders from neighbouring military out-posts converged on the scene. They built a fort which commanded the roads to Bajaur, Hashtnagar and Tirah. Arrangements were also made for the storage of foodgrains. But, when the fighting commenced, Jalala eluded the imperial net, on account of the negligence of Ismail Quli Khan, who had been placed to keep a watch over Hashtnagar.[27]

In the beginning of 1588, another expedition was sent against the Raushaniyas of Tirah under the command of Sadiq Khan. He did not open an offensive against the tribesmen, but posted men at various points to watch their activities. However, when the Mughals started plundering their crops, the Afridi and Orakzai tribes not only offered

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25 A.N., III, pp.520-521 ; Badauni, II, p.357 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.620.

26 A.N., III, p.517 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.622.

27 A.N., III, pp.525-526.

their submission but also surrendered the family of Jalala, who had feld to Turan.[28]

Meanwhile Zain Khan undertook an elaborate campaign, extending over a period of eight months, against the Yusufzais in Swat. He established a fort on the river Panjkorah, and set up a number of military outposts whereever deemed necessary. On 19 October 1588, he delivered a surprise attack when the tribals were engaged in celebrating Id Qurban. Soon after, the roads were made safe for the purposes of trade and things were rendered cheap.[29]

Sometime in the middle of 1589, Kalu Afghan, one of the leaders of the Yusufzais, surrendered to Mir Abul Qasim Namkin, who was presented at the court. He was ordered to be imprisoned.[30]

In the beginning of 1592, Jalala returned from Turan, revived his alliance with the Afridis and Orakzais (who were quick to break their allegiance to the Mughals) and raised a tumult in Tirah. Asaf Khan and Said Khan Gakkhar as well as the Mughal jagirdars of Sind and Peshawar were sent to assist Qasim Khan in his campaign against the Raushaniyas. However, the Mughals did not meet

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28 A.N., III, p.531.

29 ibid., p.532.

30 ibid., p.559.

with much success. Qasim Khan returned to Kabul without submitting a report of the expedition, an act which was disapproved by the emperor.[31]

The Raushaniyas revived their activities towards the close of 1592. Besides the Yasufzais, they were joined by the Kakiyanis and Mahmudzais who were earlier aligned with the Mughals. Their aim was to kill Muhammad Quli Turkoman, who had been stationed at Peshawar. They dispersed, however, on the arrival of Zain Khan. Jalala entrusted his brother Wahidat Ali with the task of occupying Kafiristan, which was situated between Bajaur and Badakhshan and which could serve as a refuge in the event of Mughal onslaught. Zain Khan entered Swat and Bajaur, captured the enemy fort of Chinkari and occupied the tract of Hardil, bounded on the north by Kashghar and Badakhshan, east by Swat, south by Bajaur and west by Kunar and Nurkal.[32]

The area extending the from Indus to the Hindukush was placed under Zain Khan. In his operations (1593) against the Raushaniyas of Tirah, he was joined by Qasim Khan, Asaf Khan and Khwaja Shamsuddin and Said Khan Gakkhar. Though the Afridis and Orakzais tendered their submission, Jalala fled to Kafiristan. Zain Khan directed

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31 A.N., III, p.607 ; Badauni, II, p.380 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.637.

32 A.N., III, pp.625-626.

his efforts against Wahidat Ali, who had entrenched himself in the fort of Kanshan, which fell under the jurisdiction of the ruler of Kashghar. It was duly captured, a number of Yusufzai leaders including Wahidat Ali submitted, 400 tribesmen were slain in battle while 7000 were made captives. The area upto the southern boundaries of Badakhshan and Kashghar were occupied.[33]

Following the death of Qasim Khan, the Raushaniyas became active once again, so that the road through Khyber became unsafe. Qulij Khan, the new governor of Kabul, undertook (1596) to chastize them by forcing his entry into Tirah. Since the followers of Jalala made his task extremely hazardous, he returned to Kabul without much success.[34] Zain Khan who replaced Qulij Khan as the governor of Kabul (1597) cleared Tirah of the Raushaniyas, set up a number of forts at various places, rendering the roads safe.[35]

Ever since the death of Zainul Abidin (1470) Kashmir had been going through a series of political convulsions. The rulers as well as the nobles had been

33 A.N., III, pp.639-641 ; Badauni, II, p.388 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), P.649.

34 A.N., III, pp.652-653.

35 ibid., pp.720, 740.

involved in frequent civil wars over the issue of succession. All through this troubled period, the rulers of Delhi, on the while, left the Kashmiris to their own fate. But such a distracted state of affairs was bound to attract the attention of Mughal imperialism. For, Kashmir did not fall outside the elaborate plan chalked out by Akbar for the settlement of the north-western frontier.

As early as 1580, an unfavourable turn of events, forced Yusuf Khan Chak, a Kashmiri potentate, to leave the valley and take refuge with Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan, the imperial officers posted in Punjab.[36] Towards the middle of the same year, the Punjab troops were ordered to escort Yusuf to Kashmir and assist him in regaining the con-trol of the valley. Since the presence of an alien army in his support was likely to evoke the hostility of his Kashmiri followers, Yusuf decided to go it alone. When he achieved his aim without any Mughal assistance,[37] he began to consider himself in no way subordinate to the Mughals.

In 1582, Akbar sent Shaikh Yaqub Kashmiri to the valley, apparently to remind Yusuf of his duty towards his benefactor.[38] Not wishing to alienate the emperor, Yusuf sent his son, Yaqub, to the Mughal court early in 1585.[39]

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36 A.N., III, p.280.
37 ibid., p.318.
38 ibid., p.390.
39 ibid., p.450.

Though Yusuf continued to send presents to the court, he avoided personal attendance at the same time. In the middle of 1585, when the court moved to Lahore, the emperor, in order to ensure the loyalty of Yusuf, summoned him. Yaqub, thereupon, for reasons which are not clear, secretly left for Kashmir and joined his father. Akbar deputed Hakim Ali and Bahauddin Kambo to the valley, with instructions for Yusuf to appear personally or to send his son to the court.[40] Yusuf, probably at the instigation of his courtiers, failed to abide by them.

This was an excuse enough for the emperor to depute, on 20 December, 1585, Raja Bhagwan Dass and Mirza Shahrukh at the head of an imperial force for the conquest of Kashmir.[41] The Kashmiris did not anticipate an attack in that part of the year, and the imperialists almost took them by surprise when they entered the valley, not through Bhimbar, but Pakhli and the Buliyas Pass,[42] where the snowfall was supposed to be less severe. When Yusuf started hobnobbing with the imperial commanders, he was deserted by the Kashmiris, who found a rallying point in Yaqub. In the fighting that ensued, the Mughals suffered enormously on account of unfavourable weather and terrain. Bhagwan Das with a view to make the best of a lost cause, patched up an agreement with the Kashmiris by which khutba and sikka were to bear Akbar's

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40 A.N., III, p.469.

41 ibid., p.474; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.607.

42 Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Sheet 3A.

name while the income from the mint, saffron and shawls was to accrue to the imperial exchequer.[43] Since Akbar had hoped for much more than the actual achievement, the accepted the settlement with great reluctance.

The first thing Yaqub did was to set aside the agreement and to assume royalty under the title of Shah Ismail. Next, instead of looking after administrative affairs, he engaged himself in persecuting the Sunnis.[44] On 28 June 1586, Qasim Khan and some other noted officers were despatched alongwith an expeditionary force, the aim being the conquest of the valley.[45] Guided by some local chieftains, they marched through Bhimbar, Rajauri and the Kapartal Pass.[46]

Meanwhile, the tyrannous acts of Yaqub had alienated a number of his nobles, who under the leadership of Shams Chak, Husain Chak and Muhammad Bhat etc., began to resist, though without much success, the Mughals of thier own. Srinagar fell in October 1586.[47] Yaqub continued to offer resistance from Kishtwar, which was situated on the south-eastern border of Kashmir.[48] He was even joined by his

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43 A.N., III, p.481 ; Badauni, II, p.352 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.613.

44 A.N., III, p.502.

45 ibid., p.496; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.616.

46 A.N., III, p.503 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.617.

47 A.N., III, pp.505-506 ; Badauni, II, pp.353-354; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.617.

48 A.N., III, pp.508-509, 515-516 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.618.

former enemy, Shams Chak. When Qasim Khan's severity failed to bring the issue to a successful conclusion even after several victorious encounters, he was replaced by Mirza Yusuf Khan, sometime in the middle of 1587. Shams Chak submitted to the new commander,[49] while Yaqub did so only when overawed by the presence of the emperor, two years later.[50]

The occupation of Kashmir did not prove to be free from complications. Akbar's attempt to inquire into the alleged mis-management of revenue affairs,[51] resulted in a revolt of provincial officers led by Yadgar, a cousin of Mirza Yusuf Khan. When the loyalists failed to suppress the insurrection, the emperor marched towards Kashmir on 22 July 1592 and sent summons to Zain Khan Koka, Sadiq Khan and the zamindars of the northern hill states. The military and revenue officers stationed in the Punjab, were instructed to press the services of the peasants of the region and send them to the valley.[52] The rebels were defeated in different engagements and Yadgar was beheaded.[53] Kashmir was made crown land and Khwaja Shamsuddin Khwafi was ordered to settle and develop it. Significantly, Akbar took the daughter of Shams Chak in his harem ; a grant-daughter of Husain Chak entered Prince Salim's seraglio, and some of the courtiers contracted

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49 A.N., III, pp.521-523. 50 ibid., p.557 ; Badauni, II, p.354.

51 A.N., III, p.595; Badauni, II, p.381.

52 A.N., III, pp.617-619.

53 ibid., pp.621- 623 ; Badauni, II, p.383 ; TA., II, (Tr.), p.642.

matrimonial alliances with the Kashmiris.[54] The development of family relations between the members of the Mughal ruling elite and the notables of Kashmir, was a conscious attempt on the part of Akbar to strengthen the imperial control over the newly acquired province.

The presence of the imperial court at Lahore, provided an opportunity to Mughal imperialism to bring Sind within its grasp. During the thirty-third year of Akbar's reign, Muhammad Sadiq Khan, the governor of Bhakkar, invaded the country of Sind and besieged the fort of Sehwan. Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of that place, was quick to offer submission and in accordance with the practice of his grand father, sent his envoys, with some choice presents and offerings, to the court. A farman was sent to Muhammad Sadiq Khan to withdraw from Sind, which had been restored to Jani Beg. Some time after, Hakim Ainul Mulk, who had been sent to Thatta as an escort with the envoys of Jani Beg, returned to the court with the latter's tribute and representation.[55]

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54 A.N., III, p.226.

55 Badauni, II, p.358 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), pp.622-623 ;
Abul Fazl (A.N., III, p.495) has given a slightly different account. According to him Mirza Jani Beg offered a tough resistance to Sadiq Khan who was not aware of the strength of the defenders. After having besieged the fort of Sehwan, some portion of the wall was blown up by mines. But the invaders could not force an entry as the earthen parapet was high. In fact, the garrison gained time enough to raise another wall. Sadiq Khan had to retire without much success.

On 4 January 1590, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan was deputed at the head of an army to accomplish the conquest of Qandhar, with instructions to secure the submission of the Balochis as well as Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of Sind.[56] During the course of the march, however, Sindh was chosen for attack instead of Qandhar, either because the occupation of Sind and Balochistan was deemed a necessary pre-condition for the successful conquest of Qandhar or because Sind held out better prospectus in the shape of spoils of war.[57]

The imperialists entered Sind without opposition, occupied Lakhi and besieged the fort of Sehwan. Since Mirza Jani Beg had fortified himself at Nasarpur,[58] the Mughals raised the siege to march further deep into Sind. In a bitterly contested engagement, in which artillery as well as war-boats were used, the Mughals prevailed over their adversaries.[59] During the course of the campaign, Akbar sent to the Khan-i-Khanan, a lakh and fifty thousand rupees, a second time another lakh of rupees, and a third time one lakh maunds of grain, some big guns and many artillery men to reinforce the army. He also despatched Rai Rai Singh, who was a mansabdar of 4000, by way of Jaisalmer to assist him.[60]

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56 A.N., III, pp.584-585.

57 ibid., p.601.

58 Irfan Habib, op.cit., Sheet 5 A.

59 A.N., III, pp.601-603.

60 ibid., p.606 ; T.A.II, (Tr.), p.637 ; Badauni, II, pp.379-380.

In order to crush the Sindi resistance, the Khan-i-Khanan encamped at Jun, a central place, and despatched c-ontingents to different directions -- Badin in the south, Thatta in the west, Umarkot in the east and Sehwan in the north.[61] Mirza Jani Beg was besieged at Unarpur, a stronghold on the Indus about forty kos south-east of Sehwan.[62] He was egged on in his struggle on account of a numerous army, a large fleet of war-boats and the nearness of rains. The besiegers, too, pressed the siege with vigour. The emperor again sent abundant supplies of provisions through Allah Bakhsh and Qazzaq Bahadur. Being reduced to extremities, the Mirza accepted a peace which stipulated the surrender of the fort of Sehwan and twenty war-boats as well as the marriage of Mirza's daughter with Iraj, the son of the Khan-i-Khanan.[63] When the Mirza showed signs of deviation, military operations had to be renewed before the country was occupied and the terms of the treaty implemented.[64]

The territory of Balochistan was situated roughly between Multan and Qandhar and the road connecting these two commercial centres lay through it. Its subjugation

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61 A.N., III, p.608.

62 ibid., p.613 ; Naik, C.R., Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and His Literary Circle, p.110.

63 A.N., III, pp.614-615 ; Badauni, II, p.380 ; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.641.

64 A.N., III, p.634.

therefore, was considered essential for the success of Mughal objectives in Qandhar. As early as 1578, an expedition under Mirza Yusuf Khan had succeeded in forcing a few Baloch leaders into submission.[65] This gain seems to have been impermanent. For, when Lahore became the imperial headquarter in 1585, Ismail Quli Khan, Rai Rai Singh and Abul Qasim Namkin were deputed to the same region at the head of an expeditionary force.[66] This campaign fared better than those sent about the same time to Swat-Bajaur and Kashmir, as a number of Balochi chiefs, namely Ghazi Khan, Chita, Bahadur Khan, Nusrat Khan and Ibrahim Khan submitted. On their appearance at the Mughal court on 28 March 1586, their territorial possessions were restored to them.[67]

The fort of Sibi, which lay on the trade route running from Bhakkar to Qandhar was another target of Mughal imperialism. The expedition (1595) was led by Mughal officers who had been granted jagirs in Multan and Thatta. The fort, defended by 5000 men was besieged and the garrison was forced to surrender. The zamindars of Ganjaba,[68] and some native chiefs like Darya Khan and Daud, also tendered their submission.[69]

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65 A.N., III, pp. 235, 241.

66 ibid., p.475 ; Badauni, II, p.349.

67 A.N., III, p.488 ; Badauni, II, p.352; T.A., II, (Tr.), p.614.

68 Irfan Habib, op-cit., Sheet 5 A.

69 A.N., III, p.666.

After these successes, the emperor found himself in a position strong enough to make a bid for Qandhar. The strained relations between the Persian officers posted in Q-andhar and the Shah on the one hand and the prevalence of conditions of civil war within Qandhar itself on the other, encouraged the emperor in this enterprise.

Muzaffar Husain Mirza, the Persian governor of Qandhar, had succeeded in ousting his brother, Rustam Mirza, from the latter's possession of Zamindawar. Thereupon, Rustam opened negotiations with the Mughal officer posted in Ghazni, Sharif Khan Atka, and ultimately sought asylum at the Mughal court. He was granted a mansab of 5000 and assigned jagirs in Multan and Balochistan.[70]

Since Muzaffar Husain could not hope to get any aid from the Persian government, he was obviously alarmed at this unexpected development. In his predicament, he thought it prudent to follow his brother's example. In March,1594, he sent his mother and son, Bahram Mirza to the Mughal court and offered allegiance.[71] Qara Beg and Mirza Beg, who were deputed to Qandhar, obtained the fort from Muzaffar Husain, who left for the Mughal court with 2000 Qazilbashis. The occupation of Qandhar was followed by the annexation of its dependencies, Zamindawar and Garmsir, which were situated

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70 A.N.,III,pp.645-646 ; Badauni,II,p.388 ; T.A.,II,(Tr.) p.650.

71 A.N.,III,p.650 ; Badauni,II,p.402.

to the we-st of the river Helmand, and which were then under Uzbeg control.[72]

Thus, the subah of Lahore became a base for the military and diplomatic moves designed to bring the north-western p-art of the sub-continent (with the subah of Lahore at its centre) within the effective control of the Mughals. With the establishment of the imperial sway over Kabul and the occupation of Qandhar, the north-western boundary of the Mughal empire was extended upto its scientific frointer -- a task which had always remained a dream for the Delhi Sultans. The troublesome tribal area between this frontier and the I-ndus, could now be subjugated more effectively. Henceforth, the Subah of Lahore, if not the entire country, wa-s assured of freedom from external aggression for a long time.

It is true that the long drawn out punitive measures against the Afghan tribes of the frontier had assured the re-opening of the Lahore-Kabul route through the Khyber, but it has to be admitted that the success of the Mughals against the tribesmen was only partial. More than this, however, could not have been possible in view of the immensity of th-e problem and the inhospitable local

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72 A.N., III, pp.668-669 ; Badauni, II, p.402.

conditions. But it was during these operations that the Mughal territories were extended to the southern boarders of Badakhshan and Kashghar.[73] By occupying the territory lying between the tribal area and the Uzbeg possessions, the Mughals succeeded in demolishing the alliance existing between the Afghan tribesmen and the Uzbegs. Sifnificantly, this demonstration of force so close to his own border, compelled Abdullah Khan to give up all imperialistic designs on Kabul and other areas lying to the east of the Indus. Thrown on the defensive, he accepted the Hindukush as the boundary between the Mughal empire and his own.[74] However, as a measure of precaution Akbar did not give up his residence at Lahore till the death of Uzbeg ruler, which took place in 1598.

The state of affairs within the subah of Lahore could not remain unaffected by the presence of the imperial court. It appears that the people of this region benifitted from the general improvement in the tone of administration, following emperors personal intervention to stop high-handedness of the government officers or other influential classes. In 1589, Qasim Beg, the Mir adil, along with some other functionaries, was deputed to inquire

73 A.N., III, p.641.
74 ibid., p. 705.

into acts of oppression on the part of an agent of Sadiq, the, shiqdar of Tiha, Hanu and Raij.[75] In 1592, Asaf Khan was sent to the Jehlam and Chenab in order to punish the landholders of that area, who were reported to have oppressed the weak. At the same time a number of faujdars were appointed -- Zia-ul-Mulk to Mung, Allah Bakhsh Maral to Rasulpur and Hafiz Wali to the area extending from Jandala to Lahore. Their efforts resulted in the punishment of the oppressors.[76] In the 37th or 42nd. regnal year of Akbar, when the emperor reached Chenab on his way to Kashmir from Lahore, the Gujars complained against the oppression of Waraich Jat zamindars. As a remedial measure, the villages which fell under the zamindari of the Gujars were severed from Sialkot and the new parganah of Gujrat was created.[77]

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75 A.N., III, p.538.

76 ibid., p.603.

77 Khulasat, pp.412-413.

Chapter VI

THE SUBAH OF LAHORE AND MUGHAL IMPERIALISM : THE HILL STATES

Ever since the land of five rivers came under the occupation of the Muslims in the beginning of the eleventh century, the various hill states which formed its north-eastern boundary,[1] began to attract the attention of the Sultans of Delhi as well as the invaders from the north-west. Mahmud of Ghazni (1009), Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1337) Feroze Tughlaq (1361) made Nagarkot (Kangra) the target of their military raids, undertaken with a view either to extract wealth or to acquire military glory. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the hill states suffered immensely during the course of Timur's return from Delhi to Samarqand. On their way from the Ganga-Jamuna Doab to Jammu, the invaders, in a period of about one month (16 Jamadi-ul-awwal to 16 Jamadi-ul-akhir, 801 A.H.) won as many as twenty victories against the hills chiefs and captured no less than seven of their strongest forts.[2] During these operations, the ruler of Jammu, who had been taken prisoner, was spared when he embraced Islam.[3] Before the Mughals could establish their rule in India, they had to subjugate a number of strongholds in the northern hills. Babur

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1 For details see, 'The Formation of the Subah'

2 Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, Zafarnama, pp.159-160.

3 ibid., pp.163-169; surprisingly, the ruler of Jammu displayed his adherence to the new faith by eating cow's flesh.

outsted Ghazi Khan from the fort of Milwat (Malot) in the Siwaliks, and on his way to Delhi, captured, Kotla, Ginguta, Harur, Kahlur and 'all the hill forts of the neighbourhood'[4]

During the Sur interregnum, the rulers began to show a more than casual interest in the hill states. The author of Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi would have us believe that Khawas Khan, one of the generals of Sher Shah, succeeded in conquering the fort of Nagarkot.[5] From the same source, it becomes known that the conquered areas were placed under the charge of Hamid Khan Kakar, who lived in the fort of Milwat and held such a firm control over Nagarkot, Jwala, Didhwal and Jammu hills, and the whole country, that no man dared to breathe in opposition to him. He collected the revenue by measurement of land from the hill people.[6] During the reign of Islam Shah (1545-1553), the allegiance of all the zamindars, who had their possessions at the foot of the hills i.e. Siwaliks, was secured.[7] A more significant development was the construction of a complex of five fortresses -- Shergarh, Islamgarh, Rashidgarh, Ferozegarh and Mankot -- collectively known as the fort of Mankot, situated midway between Pathankot and Nurpur.[8] Though it was built with the purpose of

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4 Baburnama, II, pp.460-464.

5 Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, (E.& D.), Vol.IV., p.544.

6 ibid., p.415.

7 Tarikh-i-Daudi, (E.& D.)., Vol.IV pp.493-494.

8 A.N., II, p.80; Hutchison and Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, pp.222-223.

keeping a watch over the Gakkhars, it enabled the Afghan influence to gain a strong foothold in the region. It is not surprising that when Sikandar Sur carried on the final phase of his struggle against the Mughals from Mankot, he received support from the neighbouring hill chiefs.[9]

With the re-establishment of the Mughals in India, a series of measures were undertaken to put an end to the possibility of an alliance between the hill-chiefs and other anti-Mughal elements -- a policy designed to consolidate their hold over the whole of the north-western region.[10] Bakht Mal, the ruler of Mau, who had been a strong supporter of Sikandar Sur was put to death after the fall of Mankot. Takht Mal, the brother of the deceased, was installed in his place.[11] In 1558, an expedition was sent against Raja Kapur Chand of Jammu under the command of Khwaja Abdullah and officers who had been assigned jagirs in Talwandi in the Rachna Doab. The Mughals secured a victory as well as the spoils of war.[12] In 1562, Raja Ganesh, the ruler of Nandaun, in the Bet Jalandhar Doab, attacked the parganah of

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9 A.N., II, pp.73-74;

10 After his defeat near Jalandhar(23 August,1560), Bairam Khan was given shelter by the Raja of Talwara, an inaccessible place in the mountains of Kushmal, and on the Beas (Badauni) II, p.43)

11 A.N., II, p.96.

12 ibid., p.116.

Birka held in fief by Jan Muhammad Bahasudi. A punitive expedition sent under the members of the Atka Khail forced him to submit.[13] These measures had the desired effect, for when Akbar reached Lahore(1566) in order to tackle the incursion of Mirza Hakim, a number of land-holders of the northern hills presented themselves and reiterated their allegiance to the Mughals.[14]

Having secured the submission of some of the smaller principalities, the Mughals were in a position to contend with Kangra, which was known not only for the inaccessibility and impregnability of its fort (Nagarkot), but was easily the strongest of all the hill states in terms of military and financial resources.[15] Though Raja Dharam Chand of Kangra was first among the hill chiefs to offer allegiance to the Mughals (1556)[16], yet on account of reasons which are not clear, Raja Jai Chand was ordered to be arrested, a task duly performed by Raja Ram Chand of Guler.[17] Bidhi Chand, the son of Jai Chand, thinking his father to be dead, raised the standard of revolt (1572). Husain Quli Khan, the governor of the subah of Lahore was deputed to bring about the annexation of Kangra and make it over Raja Birbal, to whom it had been assigned as jagir.[18]

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13 A.N., IIp.261.

14 ibid., p.278.

15 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.323; A.N., II, p.35; Revenues of the Punjab as Estimated in 1844, Appendix 38, vide Cunningham, J.D., A History of the Sikh, p.383.

16 A.N., II, p.35.

17 Hutchison & Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, Vol.I, p.140.

18 Baduani, II, pp.161-162 ; T.A., II, (Tr), p.399 ; Shash Fateh Kot Kangra, P.27; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.646.

As the Mughal army reached Dhameri (Nurpur), the commander of the fort, who was related to Jai Chand, declined to render active service but promised to keep the roads open for the passage of the troops. The imperialists reached the fort of Nagarkot after cutting their way through the dense jungle with great difficulty. The temple of Mahamai was subjected to vandalism by the soldiers. The outer fortifications of the citadel were pulled down, covered ways or sabats were constructed and large pieces of cannon were placed on a neighbouring hill. In one of the artillery fires, eighty defenders were killed, including Bhoj Dev, the son of Raja Takht Mal of Mau.[19] The siege, however, could not be brought to a successful conclusion on account of the coming of the rebellious Irahim Husain Mirza within the bounds of the subah. The officers, after mutual consultations, raised the seige and entered into an agreement with the Raja, who accepted the position of a vassal, and joined the imperial army in its campaign against the Mirza.[20]

The state of Kangra could not be annexed, nor was its fort garrisoned with Mughal troops. Also, it is not known for certain if the khutba was read or the coins issued in the name of the emperor or if a mosque was constructed in front of the Raja's palace, for Abul Fazl has failed to record it.[21] But it cannot be denied that, as a result of the campaign of 1572, Kangra was weakened militarily as well as financially. The fort of Kotla was snatched from its

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19 Baduani, II,p.162 ; T.A.,II,(Tr.),p.401 ; M.U.,I,(Tr.)p.647.

20 A.N., III,p.52.

21 Badauni, II,p.163 ; T.A.,II, (Tr.),p.402

occupation and restored to the ruler of Guler, though it was garrisoned with Mughal soldiers. Apart from the tribute and cash, Kangra had to sede large chunks of its territory to the imperial khalisa. Toddar Mal, the Diwan-i-Ashraf, who had been deputed to the northern hills for this purpose claimed that he 'had taken the meat and left the bone', meaning thereby that he had annexed all the fertile tracts, leaving only the bare hills to the native rulers. Kangra lost sixty villages in the valley, Chamba was deprived of the while of Rihlu, while similar confiscations according to the means of each were made from other states.[22]

The principality of Mau included such areas as Paithan (Pathankot), Dhameri (Nurpur) and Shahpur, all of which have been noted in the Ain as mahals in the sarkar of Bari Doab.[23] Ever since the Mughals installed Takht Mal as its chief (1557), Mau had adopted a neutral if not friendly attitude towards the Mughals. It was only during Raja Basu's chieftainship (1580-1613) that Mau dared to defy the imperial authority. When the Raja adopted a hostile disposition in 1586, an expedition was sent under Hasan Beg Shaikh Umari to bring him back to obedience. Military operations became unnecessary when on the receipt of a letter of warning from Raja Toddar Mal, the Rajput chief quickly renewed his allegiance, which he registered by appearing at the court on 16 November 1586.[24]

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22 Kangra Settlement Report, 1889, p.8 ; quoted in Hutchison and Vogel, op.cit, p.146.

23 Ain., II, (Tr.)., p.322.

24 A.N., III, pp.509-510.

Though most of the hill states had submitted to the Mughal authority, the hill chiefs continued to look for an opportunity to over throw the imperial yoke. Experience had taught them that such an attempt by any one of them would end in a miserable failure. They saw in the Mughals a common enemy, and gave up their age-long rivalries and joined together to form a confederacy, consisting of as many as sixteen states lying roughly between the Chenab and Sutlej. This unique development took place in 1590. The members of the anti-Mughal alliance were : Raja Bidhi Chand of Kangra, Raja Paras Ram of Jammu, Raja Basu of Mau, Raja Anirudh of Jaswan, Raja Tila of Kahlur, Raja Jagdish Chand of Guler, Raja Sispal of Dahpal, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, Rai Daulat of Sherkot Bharta, Rai Krishna of Fort Bhisa, Rai Narain of Suket -Mandi, Rai Krishan Aladiya and Rai Udaya Dhamriwal.

Zain Khan Koka, who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against the Afghan tribes of the north-west frontier, was entrusted with the task of suppressing the widespread rebellion. His punitive operations carried him through the hilly area extending from Pathankot down to Kahlur, on the bank of the Sutlej. Though the rebel forces numbered 10,000 horsemen and 100,000 foot-soldiers, they were overwhelmed by the superior might of the Mughals. Accompanied by Zain Khan, the above mentioned chiefs appeared at the court and renewed their allegiance. They presented 18 elephants, 115 horses 205 hunting animals, including hawks, falcons etc.[25] The contemporary writers fail to provide more details of the military operations.

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25 A.N.,III.p.583; M.U., II(Tr.),p.1026.

That the hill chief were not inclined to ahdere to their allegiance to the Mughals, became evident when they failed to join the imperial expedition to Kashmir (1592) in total disregard of the royal summons. Saifullah and Qazi Hasan, who were deputed to bring them to obedience, succeded in securing the support of a few chieftains.[26] Lal Dev, the ruler of Jammu, who persisted in his defiance, was forced by Zain Khan to follow the suit.[27]

In 1594, the scene of the rebellion shifted to the upper reaches of the Rachna Doab. The uprising centred round the activities of Raja Bhabu of Jasrota, who had been joined by Balbhadar, the chief of Lakhanpur.[28] Shaikh Farid Bokhari, Husain Beg Shaikh Umari and others were deputed to put an end to the insurrection, make a settlement of their holdings and bring back suitable presents.[29] Bhabu had entrenched himself in the village of Aliya, which was surrounded on all sides by a dense jungle. The imperialists were engaged for number of days in making a twenty to thirty yards wide road through it with the help of 'axe and fire'. Their efforts ended in the capture of Bhabu, who was escorted to the court by Ali Muhammad Asp.[30]

The imperialists followed up their success by marching to Jasrota, where the numerous kinsmen of Bhabu had taken a strong position to defend the thickly-wooded place. There were two forts, one on

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26 A.N., III., p.619.

27 ibid., p.631.

28 Faizi Sirhandi, Akbarnama, (E.&D.), Vol.VI, p.126.

29 Badauni, II, p.396.

30. Faizi Sirhindi, op.cit, p.126 ; A.N., III, pp.655-656.

the top and the other at the foot of the hill. A narrow path, through which only one or two horsemen could pass, led to the top. It was bounded on both sides by walls, each of which had holes in it, through which arrows and gun-fire could be discharged at the invaders. Having occupied the lower fort, the imperial forces pierced through a barrage of arrows and gunfire, and on reaching the hill top, set fire to the whole place. The defenders had no alternative but to flee. The fort was captured and placed under the charge of Husain Beg Shaikh Umari. The principality of Samba, lying midway between Jasrota and Jammu, had already been assigned to his care. The Mughals built a fort, two kos from here. Thereafter the fort of Lakhanpur was also occupied, perhaps without resistance, and entrusted to the charge of Muhammad Khan Turkoman.[31]

It may be pointed out that till now, the Mughals had been content to receive only an oath of allegiance or a promise of obedience from the hill chiefs.. But frequent rebellions had shown that this had become a mere ritualistic formality. Therefore, in an attempt to reduce them to a state of political impo-tence, the Mughals snatched their military strongholds and garrisoned them with their own soldiers.

From now onwards, Mau which was one of the major strongholds of the hill chiefs, engaged the attention of the imperial forces for a long time. In 1596, Raja Basu of Mau and some other zamindars came to the court (then stationed at Lahore) in the company of Husain Beg Shaikh Umari.[32] His aim in doing so was to put the emperor off

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31 Faizi Sirhindi, op.cit., pp.126-128.

32 A.N., III, p.667.

his guard regarding his own plans, for almost immediately after returning to the hills, he rose in revolt in concert with some other zamindars. Mirza Rustam Qandhari who had been assigned Paithan and adjoining areas as jagir, and Asaf Khan were sent to suppress the revot.[33] As the two officers mismanaged the campaign, Mirza Rustam was replaced by Jagat Singh, the son of Raja Man Singh Kachhwa.[34] Meanwhile, Raja Basu continued to gain strength, though a few zamindars deserted him to join the Mughals. The fort of Mau was situated on the top of a hill and surrounded by a thick forest. It could only be reached by a narrow path on which strong barricades had been put up at various points.[35] The imperialists besieged the fort with vigour. Asaf Khan, Tash Beg Khan, Hashim Beg and Muhammad Khan displayed great courage. After holding out for two months, Raja Basu effected his escape, while the fort fell into the hands of the Mughals amidst great destruction. However, on the recommendation of Prince Salim, Raja Basu was pardoned by the emperor.[36]

The turbulent spirit of the chief of Mau could not be cowed down. In 1602 he descended from the hills and carried out

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33 A.N., III, p.712.

34 ibid., p.724 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), pp.634, 725

35 Faizi Sirhindi, op.cit., p.126.

36 A.N., III, pp.726, 745.

depredations in the environs of Paithan, which originally was a dependency of Mau, but had been annexed and assigned to a Mughal officer. In the like manner, the ruler of Jammu plundered the parganahs of Muzaffarwal and Bahlolpur, which were held in fief by Husain Beg Shaikh Umari. The punitive measures were undertaken by Hasan Qulij, the son of Qulij Khan, the governor of the subah of Lahore. He was joined by Taj Khan, Husain Beg, Ahmed Beg and others. In the punitive measures against Raja Basu, Jamil Beg, the son of Taj Khan lost his life after displaying great valour. Meanwhile, Husain Beg laid siege to the fort of Jammu, where the Raja was supported by the chiefs of Kangra, Lakhanpur, Jasrota and Mankot.[37] 'All the country which had been in the hands of the rebels between Jammu and Nagarkot was reduced and the rajas and zamindars made their submission, or received merited punishment. In fact, the country was subjugated in a manner which it had never before.'[38] Raja Basu again tried to use Prince Salim's influence to secure a pardon from the emperor. Since, the prince had himself turned rebellious, the emperor ordered Madho Singh, a relation of Raja Man Singh, to arrest Raja Basu. The later, however, managed to escape to the hills.[39]

Being personally attached to Salim, Raja Basu supported the prince in his rebellion against the emperor (1604) and narrowly escaped punishment.[40] In the first regnal year of Jahangir, his mansab

37 A.N., III, pp.803-805, 808.

38 Faizi Sirhindi, op.cit., p.129.

39 A.N., III, p.833.

40 M.U., I, (Tr.)., p.393.

was raised from 1500 to 3500. In the same year , he was despatched against Khusro, who had fled from Lahore to Agra. Next, when Ram Chand Bundela was brought to the court in captivity, he was handed over to Raja Basu, who was asked to take security and release him and his relations. In 1611, his rank was increased by 500 horse and he led an unsuccessful expedition against the Rana of Mewar.[41] After his death (1613), his eldest son, Suraj Mal (who had been kept in confinement by his father) was conferred by the emperor with the hereditary rights of zamindari, the title of Raja, a mansab of 2000 and treasure accumulated by Raja Basu over the years.[42]

In April 1615, Shaikh Farid Murtaza Khan, the governor of the Subah of Lahore, was sent to reduce the fort of Kangra, which had defied the Mughal arms in the previous reign. Suraj Mal, whose hereditary domain was not far from the fort, was given an increase of 500 zat and sawar and deputed to assist him. As soon as the siege commenced, the Raja adopted a obstructive attitude, Perhaps, he feared that in the event of the fall of the fort, his own principality would become the next victim of Mughal imperialism. Following Murtaza Khan's complaint, the Raja was allowed to proceed to Deccan along with Shahjahan.[43]

Suraj Mal's place in the Kangra campaign was taken by Raja Man[44] (on the recommendation of Itmad-ud-daula) who had been

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41 Tuzuk, I, pp.49, 65, 87, 205.

42 ibid., II, p.54; Iqbalnama, p.119; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p.269 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), p.911.

43 Tuzuk, I, pp.311, 325 ; Iqbalnama, p.120 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri pp. 269-70. M.U., II, (Tr.), p.912.

44 See next page.

released from his confinement in the fort of Gwalior. Soon after he took over the supreme command of the expedition on account of the death of Murtza Khan. His mansab was also increased from 1000 zat and 500 sawar to 1500 zat and 1000 sawar. Before he could turn his attention to Kangra, he learnt that Sangram, the chief of Jammu, had encroached upon a part of his own territory. Raja Man hastened to chastize the aggressor, only to loose his own life in the process.[45] On the other hand, Sangram seems to have made amends for his indiscretion. For, in 1619, he was given the title of Raja, a mansab of 1000 zat and 500 sawar, a dress of honour and an elephant.[46]

At the instance of Shahjahan, the expedition to Kangra was entrusted to Suraj Mal, though the emperor was not inclined towards him in view of his past conduct. However, care was taken to send Muhammad Taqi, the bakshi of Shahjahan's household, to accompany the Raja. On reaching the scene of operations, Suraj Mal started despatching unfavourable reports about his colleague, Muhammad Taqi. Shahjahan obliged him by superseding Taqi by Raja Bikramajit. But before the new commander could arrive, Suraj Mal

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44 According to Hutchison and Vogel (Vol.I,P.155), he might have been the chief of Amber. But from Jahangir's account(Tuzuk,I, p.361) it appears that his hereditary domain lay in the neighbourhood of Jammu.

45 Tuzuk, I,pp.301,326,336,361,362.

46 Tuzuk,II,pp.120,154.

allowed a large number of soldiers to disperse on the plea that their equipment had become unserviceable and that they should go back to their jagirs to re-equip themselves and should return to duty before the arrival of the new general. The trick worked, for when a few soldiers were left, Suraj Mal openly broke into revolt. Having rallied under his banner the neighbouring zamindars, he ravaged the parganahs along the foot-hills, from Batala to Kalanaur and those in the Daman-i-Koh, which had been assigned in jagir to Itmad-ud-Daula.[47]

In this manner, the expedition directed against the fort of Kangra was diverted to the chastizement of the chief of Mau. On 13 September 1618, Raja Bikramajit left Ahmedabad for the northern hills, Suraj Mal was forced to leave the territory of Kangra and take refuge in the fort of Mau. Bikramajit succeeded in capaturing it after a short siege, in which 700 defenders were killed and many were made captives. Suraj Mal, however, managed to escape to the fortress of Asral. Quick in pursuit, the imperialists forced him to evacuate it and take refuge with the Raja of Chamba. The Mughals, thereupon, engaged themselves in reducing such mountain strongholds as Nurpur, Hara, Thari, Nesa, Nagrota, Sur and Jawali. The next target was the fort of Kotla, where Suraj Mal's brother Madho Singh had taken shelter. It was situated between Kangra and Nurpur, and surrounded on three sides by water. The fort was occupied after an effort of three days. Madho Singh, too, fled to

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47 Tuzuk, II, pp.56-57 ; Iqbalnama, pp.173-174 ; Shash Fateh Kot Kangra, pp.6-7 ; Lahori, I(i), p.285; Kambo, I, p.118; Khulasat, p.465.

Chamba. At this stage, the death of Suraj Mal became known. Raja Bikramajit sought from the ruler of Chamba the treasure and goods belonging to the deceased. The raja of Chamba not only complied with the demand but also sent Madho Singh, escorted by his own son and brother.[48]

Though the principality of Mau was not annexed, two steps were taken to weaken the petty kingdom and ensure its subordination to the Mughals. First, all the buildings erected by Suraj Mal and his father were ordered to be demolished. Second, Suraj Mal's brother Jagat Singh, who had been sent to Bengal on an insignificant assignment since the accession of Suraj Mal, was recalled. He was given the title of raja, a mansab of 1000 zat and 5000 sawar, a robe of honour a jewelled dagger, a horse and an elephant. He was required to serve under Raja Bikramajit, who was asked to transfer the principality of Mau to him, provided he remained steadfast in his loyalty.[49]

On 14 October 1618, Raja Bikramajit besieged the fort of Kangra.[50] His troops engaged themselves in digging entrenchments, constructing covered passages and laying down mines. However, an accidental explosion of gunpowder killed a number of imperialists.

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48 Lahori, I)i), pp.286-287 ; Kambo, I, pp.119-121. Shash Fateh Kot Kangra, pp.9-16.

49 Tuzuk, II, p.75 ; M.U.I, (Tr.), p.726.

50 For a description of the famous fort, see, Tuzuk, II, p.224 ; Iqbalnama, p.189 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, pp 342-343 ; Shash Fateh Kot Kangra, pp.25-26; M.U., I(Tr.), p.415.

In an unexpected move the defenders descended the wall of the fort with the help of ropes, destroyed one of the covered ways and succeeded in establishing a chauki. Undettered by these reverses, the Raja pressed the siege with determination. The enemy chauki was ruthlessly destroyed, the twenty-yard-wide ditch around the fort was filled up and artillery was put into action. All passages leading to the fort were blocked. The garrison was reduced to dire straits by the scarcity of foodgrains. They were forced to eat dried grass boiled with salt. Ultimately, the chief of the garrison Hari Chand, the twelve year old son of Raja Tilok Chand, handed over the keys of the fort to the Mughal commander and also gave his sister in marriage to him.[51]

Abdul Aziz Khan Naqshbandi, with a mansab of 2000 zat and 1500 sawar, took over as the first Mughal faujadar of Kangra, while Alif Khan, who held the rank of 1500 zat and 1000 Sawar, was made its first qiladar.[52] It has been asserted that the principality of Kangra was annexed by the Mughals, except the taluqa of Rajgir which was left for the maintenance of the erstwhile ruling family. This too was resumed towards the close of Jahangir's reign, in the wake of Hari Chand's revolt.[53]

In the sixteenth year of his reign, Jahangir undertook a tour of the various hill states in order to assess the extent of

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51 Tuzuk, IIp.185 ; Iqbalnama, p.174 ; Shash Fateh Kot Kangra, pp. 17-22 ; Lahori, I(1), p. 287 ; Kambo, I, pp.122-123.

52 Tuzuk, II, p.186

53 Hutchison and Vogel, op.cit., pp.169, 172.

imperial control. When the army was encamped on the Beas, the emperor received the submission of a number of zamindars of the country bordering the hills, including Basoi, the zamindar of Talwara. Marching through Behalwan in the district of Siba, the royal entourage halted at the river Banganga. Here he received the gifts sent by the Raja of Chamba, which was twenty-five kos distant from Kangra. Its ruler was reputed to be the greatest zamindar of the region, who had not submitted to any superior till then. The emperor entered the fort of Kangra, accompanied by the qazi, mir adl and Muslim scholars. The khutba was read in the name of Jahangir and a bull was slaughtered to mark the occasion. Orders were given for the construction of a lofty mosque within the citadel.[54] On his return, the emperor stopped at Dhameri, which had been renamed after him as Nurpur. Since the place was possessed of considerable natural beauty, a grant of one lakh of rupees was made for the erection of edifices suitable to the spot.[55]

The presence of a Mughal garrison (at Kangra) in close proximity to his domain, could not fail to generate a feeling of insecurity in Jagat Singh, which expressed itself in revolt. In 1623, he was found plundering the peasants of the northern hills. Sadiq Khan, the governor of the subah of Lahore, was deputed to put down his activities. He succeeded in wining over a number of

54 Tuzuk, II, p.223 ; Iqbalnama, pp, pp 188-189 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, pp 342-343.

55 Tuzuk, II, p.226.

zamindars of the region by means of threats and promises of favour. Fearing that he might be supplanted by his brother, Madho Singh, the Raja gave up all resistance. He secured the emperor's pardon through the mediation of Nurjahan.[56]

Raja Sangram, the chief of Jammu, seems to have maintained friendly relations with Jahangir. His son and successor, Bhupat, also assisted the Mughal faujdars appointed in the Daman-i-Koh, from time to time. In 1637 he was summoned by Shah Quli Khan Waqqas Haji, the faujdar of Kangra, who was engaged in putting the hilly-area in order. For reasons which are not clear, Bhupat appeared with a large army with hostile intentions. In an encounter with the imperialists, a large number of hill-men were killed including Bhupat.[57] The authority of the Mughals was, thus, imposed on the state of Jammu.

By 1640, Raja Jagat Singh of Mau had emerged as the strongest potentate in the hills. By using intrigue and treachery as a political method, he established his sway over the neighbouring principalities of Chamba, Basohli, Guler and Suket. His military strength increased considerably by the possession of such forts as Mau, Nurpur and Taragarh.[58] On the accession of Shahjhan, he was confirmed in his mansab of 3000 zat and 2000 sawar. Thereafter, he served in various Mughal expeditions to Kabul, Qandhar, Zamindawar and Bust. In 1640, he was assigned the thanedari of Lower

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56 Tuzuk, II, pp 259, 289 ; Iqbalnama, p.214 ; Maasir-i-Jahanjiri, p.387

57 Lahori, I(ii), pp.250-251.

58 Hutchison and Vogel, Vol.I, pp.234-237

and Upper Bangash.[59] His position was further strengthened by the appointment of his son, Rajrup, as the faujdar of Daman-i-Koh (Kangra).[60]

In 1641, Jagat Singh offered to chastize his rebellious son as well as collect a tribute worth four lakhs of rupees from the farmers of the region in return for the faujdari of Kangra. The change was duly executed. But as soon as he found himself in the security of his kingdom, the raja began to collect materials of war in his forts, and failed to report at the court defying repeated summons. A fact-finding mission sent under Sunder Kab Rai confirmed the Raja's hostile designs.

For the chatizement of Jagat Singh, the Mughals had to undertake the most elaborate and the most hazardous campaign sent to the hills so far. The emperor, then at Lahore, despatched three armies under Sayyid Khan Jahan, Said Khan and Asalat Khan, consisting of a large number of mansabdars, ahadis, archers, matchlockmen and zamindars - totalling thirty thousand.[61] Prince Murad Baksh, the supreme commander of the expedition established himself at Paithan. Said Khan and Asalat Khan (who had earlier been sent to Jammu to mobilise the zamindars of that area) were deputed to invest the fort of Mau, while Sayyid Khan Jahan was chosen for the siege of Nurpur.

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59 M.U., I, (Tr.), p.726.

60 Lahori, II, p.237.

61 Lahori, II, pp.237-241 ; Kambo, II, pp.342-343.

Starting from Raipur on 29 August 1641, Sayyid Khan Jahan reached Machhi Bhawan, by way of Belwan, where Rajrup's men were defeated in a sharp engagement. On 9 October, the invaders encamped near the fort of Nurpur, which was defended by 2000 well-equipped men. The Mughal general ordered the erection of batteries around the fort and allowed the troops to plunder the countryside.[62]

Meanwhile, Said Khan and Asalat Khan united their troops in the vicinity of the fort of Mau, which was surrounded by a thick jungle. The narrow paths leading to it were blocked with numerous barricades of stone and wood. The imperialists could advance steadily behind the cover of batteries, erected for the purpose. On the advice of some local zamindars, Said Khan marched towards the hill of Ropar, the occupation of which was considered essential for the fall of Mau. On its way, Said Khan's contingent suffered serious reverses at the hands of a detachment of five thousand hill-men. On reaching Ropar, the imperialists engaged themselves in clearing the jungle to make space for a camping site and fortifying it with a surrounding ditch and a fence of thorny bushes.[63]

A detachment sent from Nurpur, under Najabat Khan, Nazar Bahadur Khweshgi and Raja Man of Guler, to take the place of Said Khan at Mau, encountered stiff resistance near the garden of Raja Basu. Arranging themselves in lines and covering their heads with wooden boards, they ran towards the batteries put up by the defenders.

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62 Lahori, II, pp.261-263 ; Kambo, II, p.349 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.794.

63 Lahori, II, pp.263-265 ; Kambo, II, pp.350-351.

on 22 November, Raja Man led one thousand of his personal retainers to the fort of Chhat and occupied it.

The impperialists could make little headway at Nurpur. The defenders discovered six of the seven mines laid by them and flooded them with water. Fearing the discovery of the seventh one too, the besiegers ignited it, though two or three yards of it remained to be dug. As a result, only a part of the burj was destroyed. An entry into the fort could not be gained for the defenders had raised walls behind each burj, from where they kept up a continuous shower of arrows and bullets at the attackers.

Although Bahadur Khan and Allah Virdi Khan succeeded in occupying Damtal and Thari respectively, the emperor was not satisfied with the progress of the expedition. As such he transferred Asalat Khan to Nurpur and Sayyid Khan Jahan to Mau. Prince Murad was ordered to leave Paithan and hasten to Mau. Jagat Singh responded by opening negotiations for peace, which proved futile.[64]

While cutting their way through the thick forest to reach Mau, Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan encountered tough resistance from the defenders. In a sanguinary conflict which lasted for five days, seven hundred imperialists were killed. At this stage, all the contingenets operating in the region were ordered to converge on Mau in an all-out effort to take the fort by storm. The move paid dividends, for Jagat Singh failing to obstruct the advance of the invaders, evacuated the fort and fled to the fort of Taragarh(13

64 Lahori, II, pp.266-270 ; Kambo, II, pp.351-353.

December 1641). The fall of Mau had a demoralising effect on the garrison of Nurpur, which capitulated after holding out for another two days.[65]

The forts which had been captured so far were placed under the charge of imperial commandants-- Mau under Raja Jai Singh, Thari under Qulij Khan, Damtal under Gokal Das Sisodia and Paithan under Mirza Hasan Safavi. Having consolidated their gains, the Mughals diverted their attention to Taragarh, Jagat Singh's last resort. Since it was situated in the principality of Chamba, they sought the help of its chief, Raja Prithvi Chand, whose father had been murdered by Jagat Singh. The said chief was brought to the court, given the title of raja, a <u>mansab</u> of 1000 <u>zat</u> and 400 <u>sawar</u>, a <u>khilat</u>, dagger and horse. He was directed to collect his forces and occupy the eminence commanding the fort of Taragarh. Raja Man of Guler was commissioned to join Prithvi Chand with his retainers and assault the fort from the rear. At the same time, Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan, at the head of 12,000 cavalry, were sent to lay seige to Taragarh. Unnerved by these developments, Jagat Singh sued for peace. The emperor accepted the proposal on the condition that the raja would be expelled from his territory if he dared to rebel again. The three fortresses constituting the complex of Taragarh, except the buildings housing the inmates were to be destroyed. The forts of Mau and Nurpur were also to be

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65 Lahori, II, pp.270-273 ; Kambo, II, pp.353-355.

demolished. Mughal officers were deputed to these places to supervise the work of demolition. The task of settling the entire country was assigned to Najabat Khan.[66]

Henceforth, Jagat Singh and his sons, Rajrup and Bhau Singh,[67] served the imperial cause with unflinching loyalty. Following his death at Peshawar in 1645, Rajrup was recognized as the heir of his hereditary possessions ; he was given the title of Raja and a mansab of 1500 zat and 1000 sawar. However, Murshid Quli Khan, the faujdar of Kangra, at the orders of the emperor, captured the fort of Taragarh from the adherents of Jagat Singh. It was placed under the charge of Bahadur Kambo.[68]

The suppression of Jagat Singh's revolt seems to have had such an impact on the hill-chiefs that they did not attempt, for a long time, to resist the Mughal control imposed through faujdars and q-iladars posted at Jammu, Kangra and Taragarh. However, the entry of a militant sect - the Sikhs - in their midst provided an opportunity to them to revive their spirit of independence. The The vi-ctory of Gobind Singh, the tenth guru, at Bhangani (1687)

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66 Lahori, II, pp. 273-278 ; Kambo, II, pp.355-358.

67 In 1660, he embraced Islam and received the title of Murid Khan (Alamgirnama, p.609)

68 Lahori, II.p.490.

over a combination of hill chiefs,[69] impressed upon them his usefullness as an ally in their struggle against Mughal imperialism.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the centre of of resistance shifted to the hilly area between the Beas and Satluj. In bid to overthrow the hegemoney of the Mughals, Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur, secured the support of such states as Jaswal, Guler, Dadhwal and Jasrota as well as that of the Sikh guru, who had been allowed to establish at Anandpur (in Kahlur) along with his followers. The movement of revolt seems to have spread as far as Jammu. For, the governor of the Subah of Lahore despatched Miyan Khan in that direction, while Alif Khan was sent towards Kangra to put down the newly formed alliance. In a battle fought at Nadaun (1690), on the left bank of the Beas and twenty miles south-east of Kangra town,[70] the Mughal Commander was defeated inspite of the assistance of Kangra and Bijharwal. Having failed to achieve their aim with the force of arms, the Mughals opened a diplomatic offensive and managed, with the help of the ruler of Kangra, to bring back the hill states to their fold, reducing the guru to a position of isolation.[71]

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69 The guru has named only six members of the confederacy. (Bachhitra Natak, Das Granthi, pp.128-132). Other Sikh accounts put the number at twenty two. (Gurbilas Patshahi X, p.93 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, p. 805 ; Panth Prakash, p.198).

70 Banerjee, I.B., Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol.II, p.31.

71 Bachhitra Natak, Das Granthi, pp.133-137 ;, Sri Gur Sobha, pp.14-16 ; Gurbilas Patshahi X, pp.100-103 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp. 830-834 ; Panth Prakash, pp.200-202.

Let down by his allies, the guru engaged himself in strengthening his own military resources at Anandpur. Alarmed at these activities Bhim Chand sought the assistance of the Mughals in order to oust the Guru from his principality. It was in this context that Aurangzeb issued an order to the faujdars posted in the region to to prevent the people from collecting under the guru.[72] Dilawar Khan, probably the faujdar of Kangra, sent three expeditions against the guru. The first one despatched under his son returned without fighting.[73] The second one turned out to be more significant, for Husain Khan who led the campaign clashed with a number of hill states. He succeeded in subjugating Dadhwal and clashed with Guler and Jaswal on the issue of payment of tribute, at the instigation of the chiefs of Kangra and Kahlur. The guru did not involve himself in the conflict in a big way. Since the Mughal expedition was originally directed against him and the chiefs of Guler and Jaswal were friendly with him, the guru sent a contingent under Sangatia to their assistance. A sanguinary engagement took place which resulted in the defeat of the imperialists and the death of their commander. Dilawar Khan's third expedition, led by Jujhar Singh, fared no better, for he too was defeated and killed by the chief of Jaswal.[74] These developments not only weakened the control of the

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72 Akhbarat, Aurangzeb's 37th. year, I Rabi-us-sani 1104 A.H., (20 November 1693) pp.182-183.

73 Bachhitra Natak, Das Granthi, p.137

74 ibid.,pp.147-148 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, p.839.

Mughals in the region but also eroded the prestige of Mughal arms. Prince Muazzam, who was appointed the governor of the subah of Lahore on 31 January 1700,[75] deputed Mirza Beg Khan to reimpose the overlordship of the Mughals on the recalcitrant hill chiefs. This captain accomplished the task in a ruthless manner, and his performance was repeated by another four officers. The guru, however, was left unmolested.[76]

From then onwards, the hill states particularly those situated between the Satluj and Beas, did not pose any serious challenge to the Mughal imperialism. Instead of, all their political moves were aimed at curbing the guru, whose activities were viewed by them as a potent threat to their territorial integrity. Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur, acting in concert with the neighbouring chiefs, attempted to eject the guru from their domains. In order to achieve their end, they secured military aid from Wazir Khan,[77] the faujdar of Sirhind (a sarkar in the subah of Delhi), who received orders to that effect from the emperor.[78] The administrators of the subah of Lahore, including the faujdars of Kangra and Jammu, kept aloof from the conflict between the hill chiefs and the guru.

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75 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.423.

76 Bachhitra Natak, Das Granthi, pp.149-151, ; Gurbilas Patshahi X, pp. 176-177 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.839-840.

77 Sri Gur Sobha, p.57 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, p.908.

78 Akhbarat, Aurangzeb's 43rd. year, (II April, 1699), f.2b.

By the opening of the eighteenth century, most of the hill states had come to possess a long tradition of armed resistance to the Mughal imperialism. They could not remain passive when Banda's uprising (1710-1716) enveloped a major part of the subah of Lahore. The chief of Kahlur as well as its population lent their support to the rebellion by allowing Banda to establish chaukis in their territory. The chief also promised to resist the entry of any Mughal army into his territory in pursuit of Banda.[79] Also, the rulers of Chamba, Nurpur and Jasrota failed to obey the royal orders requiring them to mobilize their tropps to curb the followers of Banda.[80] The chief of Jammu, having adopted a defiant attitude towards the Mughals, enabled the Sikh rebels to establish a number of thanas in the parganahs accross the Ravi.[81] In order to prevent the alliance between the hill chiefs and Banda to take root, Bahadur Shah ordered all the zamindar - held parganahs, running from the foot of Jammu to Kumaun hills, to be appropriated to the khalisa.[82] It appears that the Mughals succeeded in weaning away the hill chiefs from Banda's support, particularly when the latter's fortunes began to decline.[83]

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79 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 5th Year, pp.135, 147-148.

80 ibid., pp.27, 152.

81 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 5th regnal year, pp.135, 231.

82 Akhbarat, Bahadur Shah's 5th & 6th regnal year, Vol.II, 469-82.

83 Muzaffar Alam, Mughal Centre and the Subahs of Awadh and the Punjab, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p.177

During the last phase of the struggle between the Mughals and the hill chiefs, the scene of action shifted to Jammu and its environs. Dhruv Dev and Anand Dev, who shared between them the *zamindari* of Jammu, rose in revolt during the early years of Zakariya Khan's governorship. Defying the authority of the *faujdar* of Jammu, they occupied the *parganahs* on the foot hills by force. They even seized the wooden throne and other gifts of Kashmir which were being sent to Lahore. In order to put an end to the insurrection, Zakariya Khan marched northwards by way of Sialkot. Adina Beg Khan, the *faujdar* (of Jammu) who had his headquarter at Raipur, joined him with a large army. The imperialists captured a number of strongholds set up by the hill-men on the way. The latter retreated to take shelter in the fort of Jammu, which was made the target of artillery fire by the imperialists. The two sides were also locked in a close combat outside the fort. At last, the two *zamindars* submitted to Zakariya Khan and made offerings of tribute and valuable presents. They also agreed to remain obedient to the Mughal *faujdar* of Jammu. It was decided that the recently acquired goods be distributed among the people of the region from whom these had been plundered by the *zamindars*.[84]

As soon as the governor returned to Lahore, the *zamindars* of Jammu again took to rebellion, clashed with Khan Naib (Adina Beg Khan), the *faujdar* of Jammu and failed to pay the tribute. Meanwhile

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84 *Asrar-i-Samadi*, pp.44-48.

Zakariya Khan and his father, Abdul Samad Khan, the governor of Multan, hastened to the disturbed area, surrounded the hill and opened the attack with big and small guns. The defenders evacuated the citadel and fled to the fort of Bahu, near Jammu. Here, too, the hill-men could not hold for long. They took to flight and sought shelter in the ravines. Detachments were sent in the various directions to pursue the fugitives. A severe warning was issued to the hill-chiefs in the region against giving asylum to to them. The imperial forces established thanas at various strategic points and turned back. In order to facilitate the movement of the army in the hilly area, Khan Naib made arrangements for levelling and widening of the narrow and rocky paths.[85]

The Officer called Khan Naib also led a punitive expedition against the zamindar of Katoch (the chief of Kangra) who was guilty of with-holding the payment of tribute and carrying on depredations in the vicinity of the fort of Kangra. Though, he had served in the campaign against the zamindars of Jammu, he was put under arrest and his country was plundered.[86]

The principality of Jammu once again attracted the attention of the provincial administration, when Ranjit Dev, the most notable chief who ever ruled in Jammu, was seized by Zakariya Khan on the charge of disloyalty (1735). The Raja remained in captivity at Lahore for twelve years. His brother Ghansar Dev

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85 Asrar-i-Samadi, pp. 49-53.

86 ibid., pp.53-54.

ruled in his absence. At the intercession of Adina Beg Khan, the faujdar of Bet Jalandhar Doab, he was released (1747) on a promise to pay two lakhs of rupees.[87]

Thus as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, the Mughals had realized that it was essential to deprive the hill states of their autonomous status in order to consolidate their rule in the directly administered territories, contiguous to them (the hill states). With this aim in view, a number of measures were undertaken. First, all attempts by the hill chiefs to assert their independence were put down as a result of intensive military campaigning in the hills. Second, a number of strongholds, which constituted the major source of military strength of the hills chiefs, were either demolished or placed under imperial commandants (qiladars). Third, the presence of Mughal faujdars at Jammu and Kangra went a long way in ensuring the continued submission of the hill chiefs. Four, the Mughals asserted, at least in some cases, the right to choose the successor of a dead chief, to confer the title of Raja as well as his hereditary possessions on him. Five, some of the hill-chiefs received mansabs and served the Mughal administration in various capacities. There were others who did not receive mansabs but collaborated with the imperialists in the suppression of neighbouring chiefs. It may be pointed out that

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87 Hutchison and Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, Vol.II, pp.540-541.

in view of the distinct geographical situation, size and strength of each state, the Mughals could not follow a uniform policy towards them. Even towards one single state, the attitude of the imperial power could not remain rigid for any period of time.

Chapter Seven

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Nature had endowed the subah of Lahore with such resources -- soil, water, climate etc. -- as enabled it to possess an 'agricultural fertility which was rarely equalled'.[1] Also, nature had bestowed on it raw-materials (or provided it with means to produce them) which facilitated the production of a number of non-agricultural goods. On its part, the government of the day created physical conditions which were essential not only for the cultivation of land but also for the unhindered flow of trade and commerce. Here, an attempt is being made to study some aspects of the economic condition of the subah of Lahore -- the agricultural production, means of irrigation, droughts and famines, non-agricultural production, trade routes, the movement of trade and the goods traded, taxation policy etc.

Generally, there were two harvests for the area under study, as for most parts of the empire. The spring or rabi (ver. harhi) crops were sown in the latter part of September to the end of December and reaped in March and April.[2] The most important crop included in this category was wheat, the staple food of the people. Coarse grains like barley and

1 Ain, II(Tr.), p.316.

2 Douie, J., The Panjab, North West Frontier Province and Kashmir, p.142.

arzan (Panicum miliaceum) were also raised. Two varieties of vetch (Vicia sativa) - Kabul and Indian -- were cultivated as forage ; being a leguminous plant, it enriched the soil by providing it with nitrogen-fixing bacteria. Such vegetables as potherbs (spinach), fenugreek, peas, carrots, lettuce and onions were grown during this period. The seeds of mustard and linseed, raised in this season, were used to extract oil. Safflower (Carthamus tinctorius) was a herb whose dried flowers were put to medical use or as a red dye-stuff. The cultivation of poppy, the source of opium, has also been indicated.[3]

The autumn or <u>kharif</u> (ver.sauni) crops were sown in June and July and reaped from September to December.[4] The most important crop of the season was rice, three varities of which were grown in the <u>subah</u>. Its yield was considered to be better than that of Bengal.[5] It could, however, be cultivated only in the river-beds, montane and sub-montane tracts, on account of the excessive need of water.[6] Cotton and sugarcane, classified as high grade crops or <u>jins-i-kamil</u> and produced for commercial purposes,[7] were included among <u>kharif</u> crops, though they were sown in March.[8] Shamakh (Panicum

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3 <u>Ain</u>, II, (Tr.), pp.87, 119.

4 Douie, <u>op.cit</u>., p.142.

5 <u>Khulasat</u>, p.79.

6 Trevaskis, H.K., <u>The Land of the Five Rivers</u>, p.16.

7 Irfan Habib, <u>The Agrarian System of Mughal India</u>, p.39.

8 Douie, <u>loc.cit</u>.

frumentaceum) and Kodaram, both coarse grains, were cultiviated in this season. The crop of jowar was raised as fodder for cattle, while sesame seeds (ver. til) for its oil. Hemp (ver. bhang), whose tough fibre was used to make ropes and indigo which yielded a blue dye were also included among the autumn crops. Another feature of the season was the cultivation of a large number of pulses - moth, mash, moong, lobiya etc.[9]

Though the cultivation of tobacco has not been referred to in the Ain, it appears to have become quite common during the seventeenth century. In view of the ample profits assured by it, the farmers considered its cultivation more important than that of other crops. Aurangzeb ordered the provincial governors to ban the sale and purchase of tobacoo ; some people who dared to flout the restriction were punished in the streets of Lahore. Yet, the cultivation seems to have continued in a clandestine manner.[10]

Both the harvests, rabi and kharif, were dependent on the rainfall to a great extent.[11] The summer or south-west monsoon divided itself into two branches, the Bombay Current and the Bengal Current. The latter, striking against

9 Ain, II, (Tr.), pp.88, 119-120.

10 Khulasat, pp.454-456.

11 ibid., p.79.

the Eastern Himalaya, was deflected to the west and forced up the Gangetic Plain. By the time it reached the <u>subah</u> of Lahore, it was reduced considerably in intensity. Though the hill region received copious and the sub-mountane tract ample rain, the amount that reached the plains was invariably less and often insufficient for the <u>kharif</u> crop. The condition of the western and south-western part of the <u>subah</u> was quite precarious. It was only when the Bombay current was sacked into the Bengal Current that the whole region received wide-spread rain, which was so vital for the maturing of <u>kharif</u> and sowing of <u>rabi</u> crops. The winter or north-eastern monsoon did not penetrate the <u>subah</u>, where light westernly and northernly winds prevailed during the winter season. It was only the land storms originating beyond the western frontier that produced a little rain. An average rainfall of 13 inches in summer and 3 inches in winter was deemed necessary for the two harvests.[12]

Besides rainfall, the rivers constituted another natural source of water for irrigational purposes. Over the centuries each river had carved out for itself a wide valley, which lay well below the level of the plain and whose banks marked the extreme limits of its course on either side. Within this valley, the stream meandered in a narrow but ill-defined and ever-shifting channel.[13] In winter, the volume of

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12 Douie, <u>op.cit</u>., pp.66-67 ; Trevaskis, <u>op.cit</u>., pp. 3-4.

13 Trevaskis, <u>op.cit</u>., p.9.

water flowing was comparitively small, but when the heat of the summer melted the Himalayan snows and the monsoon currents, striking against the northern mountain walls, were precipiated in torrents of rain, the rush of water to the plains swelled the rivers twenty, thirty, forty or even fifty-fold. The sandy beds, then, became full from bank to bank and the silt-laden waters spilled over into the cultivated lowlands beyond, often to a distance of several miles on either side.[14] At the close of the rainy season, the waters abated, leaving wide expanses of fertile loam or less fertile sand.[15] Thus, the seasonal inundations provided considerable tracts along the rivers with purely natural means of irrigation and fertilization.

The extent to which seasonal inundations facilitated agricultural production varied with each river. For instance, the Ravi was not only the smallest of the five rivers flowing through the subah, it also flowed in a narrow channel. Its valley, too, was insignificant, being not more than two or three miles in breadth.[16] Similarly, the deposits left by the Chenab were usually sandy and much inferior to the silt, rich in argillaceous matter, brought down by the Jehlam. As such, the valley of the Jehlam was much more

14 Douie, op.cit., p.34.

15 Trevaskis, loc.cit.

16 D.G. Lahore, (1883-84), pp.2-3.

fertile, better cultivated better wooded and more thickly inhabited.[17]

Though the seasonal inundations were immensely beneficial to the agricultural land, they were not an unmixed blessing. Like all streams which flowed from the mountains into a flat, soft, and alluvial terrain, the rivers flowing through the subah of Lahore, were perpetually silting up their beds, and thus, by their own action, became diverted into new channels which were carved out afresh.[18] For instance, an old bed of the Beas has been found in the lowlands between the high bank of the Majha and the Satluj as well as in Multan, indicating that the Satluj and Beas flowed separately, either to the Indus or to within a short distance of it.[19] Bernier wrote that the Ravi receded a full quarter of a league from Lahore within a few years, causing great hardship to the inhabitants.[20] Likewise, the confluence of the Chenab and Jehlam moved up by over twenty-five miles within the seventeenth century. Also, the Panjnad did not exist and the Chenab and Beas-Satluj met the Indus separately near Uch.[21] It is obvious that vast areas of cultivated land were devastated by 'the fickleness of the rivers to their beds.'[22]

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17 D.G. Shahpur(1917),pp.3,5 ; D.G. Jhang,(1908),p.10.

18 Douie,op.cit.,p.34.

19 D.G.Lahore (1883),p.3.

20 Bernier,p.383 ; Khulasat,p.65.

21 Irfan Habib,op.cit.,p.30.

22 See next page.

In addition to the water of the rivers, the numerous streams which emerged from the hills during the rainy season irrigated the lands below, particularly the upper reaches of the Doabs. The most important of such streams was the Degh, which took off from the hills of Jammu and flowed into Lahore via Sialkot and Gujranwala. Its floods were most fertilizing in their action, depositing a rich loam upon the country which they inundated, rendering it highly productive.[23]

One of the chief means of artificial irrigiation was wells, which, it appears, were found all over the province.[24] The land adjacent to the various river valleys was comparatively low in level and moistened by percolation, so that wells, often mere holes in the ground, could be dug and water found at a depth of seven to twenty feet.[25] The abundance of wells is indicated by the belief that 'there was a well to every twelve acres of land' in the district of Gujranwala (Rachna Doab)

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22 Contd. It was found in 1755 that 260 ghumaons of agricultural land in the village Jagatpur, pargana Pathan, in the Upper Bari Doab Sarkar, had been rendered unfit for the sowing of the rabi crop on account of having been submerged in the floods of the Ravi ; Goswamy, B.N. and Grewal, J.S., The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori,, pp.189-190.

23 Khulasat, p.73 ; D.G. Gujranwala, (1883-84), p.5.

24 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.316.

25 Trevaskis, op.cit, p.9.

before and during Akbar's reign and upto the time of Aurangeb.[26] Land irrigated by wells was found in village Paighambarpur, parganah Batala, sarkar Bari Doab.[27]

Though there were various methods, crude and simple, of lifting water from the wells, the most sophisticated device was the 'Persian Wheel'. Babur encountered them in the Chenhat Doab, where they watered fields of sugarcane.[28] Again, he found such wells 'in Lahore, Dipalpur and those parts'. He has described them thus, "They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on the upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere." [29]

Notwithstanding the testimony of Babur and Sujan Rai Bhandari, it has been asserted that the Persian-wheel, being a fairly complicated and expensive device by medieval

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26 D.G. Gujranwala, (1883-84), p.4.

27 Goswamy and Grewal, op.cit., pp.77, 83.

28 Baburnama, I, p.388.

29 Baburnama, II, p.486 ; Also, see, Khulasat, p.79.

standards, could not have been extensively used, for it could act as an effective means of irrigation only where the sub-soil water was found at a comparatively higher level, for instance, in the regions receiving sufficient rainfall and the riverain tracts. In areas where the sub-soil water was located at a comparatively greater depths, water could be lifted effectively only with a simpler contraption called charas.[30] Manucci's reference to the existence of a large number of wells in the environs of Lahore from where water was drawn by means of thick ropes with the aid of oxen, points to the use of charas. as a water-lifting device.[31]

The ample river-water resources of the subah provided numerous opportunities to the imaginative administrators to exploit them for constructing canals. Traces have been found of some inundation canals which, originating from the Satluj, brought down a considerable volume of water during flood times, and were of great value to the tract between the Satluj and the high bank of the Majha. The Khanwah was one of the most important of them. Though it is difficult to determine its origin, its construction is attributed to Khan-i-Khanan, one of the nobles of Akbar.[32] Also, during the reign of Akbar a cut was made by one Maulavi Ghulam Mustafa from the

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30 Chetan Singh, "Well Irrigation Methods in Medieval Punjab, the Persian Wheel Reconsidered", in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, 122, I(1985), pp.77, 84, 86.

31 Manucci, II, p.174.

32 D.G. Lahore, (1883-84), p.6.

stream of the Aik above Sialkot for watering the gardens and tanks of Mianahpura.[33]

A major effort in this direction was undertaken by Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of the subahs of Lahore and Kashmir, for which an amount of one lakh of rupees was sanctioned.[34] The canal took off from the Ravi at Raipur, a mauza near Nurpur, and reached Lahore covering a distance of over forty-eight kos. However, on the completion of the work, it was found that the in-flow of water did not reach the required level. The experts engaged in the project spent another Rs.50,000, but failed to increase the supply of water. The emperor,Shahjahan, requisitioned the services of Mulla Alaulmulk Tooni, who was proficient in physical sciences, astronomy, mathematics and hydrostatics. The latter retained the first six kos of the canal as it was and built the rest of thirty-two kos along a new route. The effort turned out to be a success, for ever since 1644, water has been flowing down in sufficient quantity.[35] Besides being the source for the water-channels, fountains and tanks in the famous Shalamar Bagh, it irrigated the garden within, where a variety of fruit trees had been planted.[36]

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33 D.G.Sialkot,(1883-84),p.7.

34 Lahori,II,pp.168-169 ; M.U.,I,(Tr.),pp.192-193.

35 Kambo,II,p.312 ; M.U.,II(Tr.),p.551.

36 Lahori,II,pp.312-313 ; Kambo,II,pp.341, 373-377.

It appears that the canal performed functions other than those of a purely ornamental nature. According to Sujan Rai Bhandari, as many as four canals were taken out of Ravi at Shahpur (near Nurpur) -- the first one served the Shalamar Bagh, while the second, third and fourth irrigated the parganahs of Pathan, Batala and Patti Haibatpur respectively.[37] There is evidence to show that the water of Shah Nahr was supplied to the village Chak Jogian, paraganah Pathan, sarkar Bari Doab for purposes of irrigation.[38]

Ali Mardan Khan has been credited with the construction of another canal in the Upper Rachna Doab, at a cost of six lakhs of rupees. It ran from the river Tawi to Ibrahimabad, a town founded by him near Sodhra on the eatern bank of the Chenab. It provided water to the newly laid garden which, along with its buildings, rivalled the Shalamar Bagh of Lahore. Shahjahan assigned a village in parganah Sodhra to the said noble and his descendants for the maintenance of the canal and garden.[39] Traces of it were found a hundred years back at Kotli Loharan, Zahura and Banut indicating that it was nearly twenty miles in length. A successful undertaking, it flowed throughout the year and was used for irrigation. Another canal, the construction of which was attributed to Dara Shikoh, brought the water of the Degh through the centre of the high tracts in

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37 Khulasat, p.77.

38 Goswamy, B.N., and Grewal, J.S., The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, p.175.

39 Khulasat, p.74.

the vicinity of Pasrur. Its remains in the form of old tanks and aqueducts were apparent as late as the 1880's.[40]

About the canals constructed during the reign of Shahjahan, Moreland wrote that 'the chronicles are silent as to the revenue side of these enterprises, and it is matter for conjecture whether or not water rates were charged ; possibly the resulting increase in land revenue was regarded as sufficient remuneration, since with annual or seasonal assessments, the return would be almost immediate.'[41] However, a parwana issued on 28 December 1732 by Zakariya Khan -- ordering the daroghas of Shahnahr not to levy nahrana on the village Talibpur, parganah, Batala because of its being attached to a holy establishment -- shows that such a cess was levied on ordinary cultivators.[42]

A network of small canals took out of the Beas in the Upper Bet Jalandhar Doab. The most important of them was the Shah Nahar, said to have been dug by Rai Murad of Bhangala, under the auspices of Adina Beg Khan, who administered the Doab for a considerable period of time during the first half of the eighteenth century. Its headworks were located opposite Changarwan, and it ran along the bed of the Beas for seven miles, entering the high land at Sariana. Afterwards, the canal flowed south-westwards, watering some

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40 D.G. Sialkot (1883-84),p.7.

41 Moreland,W.H., The Agrarian System of Muslim India,p.131.

42 Goswamy B.N. and Grewal, J.S., The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori,p.93.

6000 acres in part of the modern district of Hoshiarpur. The canal was in reality of the inundation type, but even a after the river had subsided a fair supply of water was available through the cold weather and practically upto the next flood season. Irrigation was thus possible all the year round, but very little water was taken for the rabi.[43]

Some minor irrigation projects, besides the canals, were undertaken at the instance of the government. One kos to the east of Hasan Abdal, in the upper reaches of the Sind Sagar Doab, was found a natural waterfal, from which the streams rushed out with great force. Khwaja Shamsuddin Khwafi, who served as the wazir of Akbar for a long time, constructed a platform and reservoir into which was led the water from the spring. It was used in cultivating and irrigating the gardens.[44] On another occasion Abul Fazl was assigned the task of building an embankment between the parganahs of Sultanpur and Nakodar, in the Bet Jalandhar Doab; he was granted gold worth Rs.20,000 for the purpose.[45] If it was built to control the floods of the western Bein, which flowed midway between these two parganahs, it might have benefited the farmers of the southern portion of the Doab.

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43 D.G. Hoshiarpur (1904),pp.7,115,117.

44 Tuzuk, I,pp.99-100.

45 ibid.,p.136.

The demand for agricultural produce in the <u>subah</u> of Lahore was often affected by political factors. From 1585 to 1598, the city of Lahore served not only as the imperial capital but also the abode of the emperor's household, the establishments of the nobles, the soldiers in their thousands as well as the innumerable attendants, servants and slaves. As a consequence, the demand for foodgrains, besides other necessities of life, went up considerably, leading to an increase in their prices. The revenue officers of the <u>subah</u> raised the share of the state in the farm produce in the ratio of ten to twelve. When, in 1598, Lahore ceased to be the seat of the government, the prices dropped to their normal level. In response, the government remitted the increase in the revenue demand.[46] According to Sujan Rai Bhandari, it was on the request of Guru Arjun that the emperor, Akbar, ordered the revenue of the <u>subah</u> to charge only five-sixth of the normal rates from the farmers, since the prices had come down following the exist of the royal standards from Lahore.[47]

Circumstances did not require the successors of Akbar to reside in Lahore for any considerable period of time. However, they frequently passed, along with their vast entourage, through the <u>subah</u> of Lahore on their way to Kashmir

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46 <u>A.N.</u>, III, p.747.

47 <u>Khulasat</u>, p.425.

or Kabul. Moreover, large armies had to be moved to Central Asia and Qandhar during the seventeenth century. It may not be unsafe to deduce that on these numerous occasions, the demand for food grains, poultry products and fodder etc. must have been much more than that in the normal circumstances. The resultant rise in the prices of agricultural produce might have brought some amount of prosperity, though of a transitory nature, to the farmers of the region.

Many a times, the subah of Lahore fulfilled the demands made on its agricultural output. In 1662, when Jahangir contemplated sending an expedition to the defence of Qandhar, banjaras (grain-sellers) were advanced money to enable them to collect grain from the countryside, for there was little cultivation between Multan and Qandhar.[48] In 1637 Wazir Khan, the governor of the subah of Lahore, was directed to collect grain from the mahals of Punjab through his men, and send it to Kabul so that the royal army was supplied with adequate provisions on the way.[49] In 1639, when Shahjahan reached Bhimbar on his way to Kashmir, he ordered Makramat Khan to return to Lahore and make arrangements for transporting grain to Kabul and Qandhar.[50] The great variety of rice, herbs and vegetables, and the various kinds of birds such as fowls, capons, chickens, pigeons, peacocks, turtledoves,

48 Tuzuk, II, p.233.

49 Lahori, II, p.38.

50 ibid., p.182.

quails etc. witnessed by Manrique (1641) in the camp-bazar at Lahore, could have been acquired only from the neighbouring countryside.[51] In 1653, when an imperial expedition under Dara Shikoh left Lahore for Qandhar, innumerable banjaras were engaged to collect provisions for the needs of the army.[52]

Such natural calamities as droughts and floods frequently impaired agricultural production, besides causing considerable misery to the people of the region under study. In 1596, when the imperial court was at Lahore, deficiency of rain led to a great rise in the prices of food grains as well as general distress. Relief measures included the establishment of free-kitchens in every city and the appointment of able men to every place to distribute food to the needy. In addition, a number of beggars were made over to the rich people.[54]

In 1611, free kitchens (bulghur khanas) were set up to distribute cooked food to the poor in the city of Lahore, as also in Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Delhi and Agra.[55] Whether or not the measure was designed to combat famine, cannot be ascertained.

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51 Maclagan, E.D., The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Punjab, 1641 ; The Punjab Past and Present, Vol, II, Part II, October 1968, p.233.

52 Waris, f.70a ; Kambo, III, p.155.

54 A.N., III, p.714.

55 Tuzuk, I, p.204.

In 1616, the whole of northern India came under the grip of the epidemic of plague, the like of which had not been reported earlier. The contagion started in some *parganahs* of Punjab and reached the city of Lahore. A large number of people, Hindus and Muslims, lost their lives. Thereafter, the epidemic spread to Sirhind and the Ganga-Jamuna Doab till it reached Delhi and its environs. The epidemic was said to have raged for eight years.[56] Questioned about its causes, physicians and other learned men declared that the cause of the epidemic lay in the conditions of drought created by a lack of rain for two successive years. Others held that it arose on account of the pollution of air which, in turn, was caused by drought and scarcity.[57]

In the tenth regnal year of Shahjahan, Wazir Khan, the governor of the *subah* of Lahore, reported that the province was suffering from famine and scarcity. The emperor postponed the proposed expedition to Qandhar.[58] Apparently, it was decided not to impose any additional burden on the agrarian economy of the *subah* in the prevailing circumstances.

In 1640, the floods of the Jehlam caused widespread damage to the surrounding *mahals*. The water started rising on 8 August ; by the 11th. the situation deteriorated to such

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56 *Iqbalnama*, p.38 ; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, p.222.

57 *Tuzuk*, I, p.330.

58 Lahori, II, p.29.

an extent that 400 out of 430 villages of Bhera were submerged in water. All the mahals of Khushab suffered the same fate, except the two which were near the hills. In fact, a strip of five kos on each side of the river, including Kirjhak, Nandanpur and Shamsabad, was totally devastated.[59]

It was reported in 1646, that owing to the exhorbitant prices of food grains, some poor people of Punjab were being forced to sell their children as slaves. The emperor ordered that such people should be paid from the royal exchequer, so that the children were restored to them. Further relief measures included the opening of free kitchens at ten places, where Rs.200 were required to be spent daily for feeding the starving people.[60] However, the contemporary writers fail to provide the real cause of the misery.

In 1651, it so happened that the rain fell scarcely in the beginning of the monsoon ; the crops matured earlier than usual on account of the intensity of heat. Thereafter, it rained heavily and continuously for a period of four months. The swollen rivers began to overflow their banks. The waters of Jehlam submerged the qasba of Bhera for full seven days, so that the very survivial of the people was threatened. The floods deprived the khalisa lands of revenue amounting to one crore of rupees. The emperor, Shahjahan, who

59 Kambo,II,p.329.

60 Lahori,II,p.489 ; Kambo,II,p.467.

was then on his way to Kashmir, left Saadullah Khan at Wazirabad to inquire into the damage done to the crops and ~~to the~~ crops and to encourage the farmers.[61]

The accession of Aurangzeb marked the beginning of a period of scarcity in the northern and eastern India. The prices of food grains had risen owing to the disturbances cuased by the war of succession as well as the failure of rain in various regions. In order to alleviate the miserable condition of the raiyyat, Aurangeb remitted as many as eighty taxes, which used to bring crores of rupees to the exchequer.[62] The measure appears to have failed in its objective, for the misery became all the more intense, with the starving people continuing to pour into the cities. To meet the eventuality, the number of public kitchens was increased, the amount being spent on them was doubled and they were placed under the charge of pious and honest daroghas. The amirs holding mansabs of 1000 or more were ordered to establish free kitchens of their own. The alms-giving continued until the scarcity was turned into plenty.[63]

Relief measures, though on a smaller scale, were undertaken again in 1677-78, when the prices of foodgrains

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61 Waris, f.51a-b. ; Kambo, III, pp.124-125 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), p.642.

62 Khafi Khan, II, p.87.

63 Alamgirnama, p.609-611 ; Khafi Khan, II, p.124 ; Maasir-i- Alamgiri, p.34.

rose beyond the means of the people.[64] More details are not forthcoming in the contemporary chronicles.

Of the non-agricultural products, the most important seems to have been the cotton cloth. Bajwara, in the Bet Jalandhar Doab, produced sirisaf, adras, doriya, panch-toliya, jhona, jira safed, and fotah-tiladar. Sultanpur, a town on the Beas and Delhi-Lahore highway, was known for chhint, dolayi and badla.[65] Printed fabrics of cotton called 'chites' produced at Lahore were the coarsest and consequently the cheapest, being priced at 16 to 30 rupees per corge (20 pieces).[66] Sialkot, a town in the Rachna Doab, was celebrated for chikan, chira, fotah, sozni, ukcha, tray-covers, table-cloths and small tents. However, embroidered cloth (chikan) produced at Gujrat was superior to that of Sialkot.[67]

The government also participated in the manufacture of various kinds of cloth. The imperial workshops, some of which were located at the city of Lahore, furnished all those stuffs which were made in Iran, Europe and Mongolia. Skillfull masters were encouraged to settle in the country to teach the (native) artisans an improved system of production ;

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64 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.169.

65 Khulasat, p.66.

66 Tavernier, II, p.5 ; Temple, R.C., The Diaries of Streynsham Master, (1675-1680), Vol.II, p.90.

67 Khulasat, p.75.

all kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection ; new patterns, figures, knots and fashions were evolved ; a taste for fine material became general ; the drapery used at feasts, in particular, surpassed all descriptions of beauty. The increased production and improved quality was coupled with a fall in prices, which were reduced by 66 to 75 percent.[68]

Though wool was not as readily available as cotton, woollen goods were produced in sufficient quantity. In Lahore alone, there were more than one thousand workshops, which produced a kind of Shawl called 'mayan'. It was made of wool mixed with silk and was used as chiras (turbans) and fotahs (loin-bands).[69] Inspite of all possible care, the shawls turned out at Lahore, failed to acquire the delicate texture and softness possessed by the Kashmiri Shawls 'whose unrivalled excellence may be attributed to certain properties in the water of that country.'[70] Since the wool of Indian sheep was inferior, it was considered suitable only for blankets. Therefore, shawls of a finer variety could have been made only out of goats' hair imported from Kashmir and Tibet.[71]

Notwithstanding the regular import of carpets from Goshkan, Khuzistan, Kirman and Sabzwar, those produced

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68 Ain., I, (Tr.), pp.93-94.

69 ibid., 98.

70 Bernier, p.403.

71 Rennell, J., Memoir of a Map of Hindustan, p.144.

in the city of Lahore became quite popular with the aristocracy. During the reign of Akbar, all kinds of carpet-weavers had settled in different parts of the empire, including Lahore, and did a flourishing business. The imperial workshops produced single 'gilims' 20 gaz 7 tassujes long and 6 gaz 11½ tassujes broad at a cost of Rs.1810, which were valued at Rs.2715 by skilled traders.[72] The craft had reached such a degree of excellence during the reign of Shahjahan that the product was rated as superior to that of Qirman, produced in the karkhanas of the Shah of Persia. One yard of Lahore carpet, made of pashm-shawl, was priced at one hundred ruppes, which was more than three tomans of Iraq.[73] On account of Shahjahan's patronage, the imperial workshops at Lahore used kurgs' hair to produce carpets which were in no way inferior to those of Kashmir.[74] Lahore carpets were considered fit to adorn the newly constructed buildings at Shahjahanabad.[75] The nobles loved, among other things, to present these carpets at the court.[76]

Horse, being the quickest means of transport, was much prized by almost all sections of the society. Though large numbers of them were imported from central and west Asian countries, yet the breeding of horses was undertaken with

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72 Ain.,I(Tr),p.57.
73 Lahori,I(i),p.448.
74 Kambo,I,p.216.
75 Waris,f.17b ; M.U.,II(Tr.),p.268.
76 Waris,f.22a,120b ; Kambo,II,p.240.

enthusiasm in the different parts of the country. Horses resembling those of Iraq, which went by the name of 'Sanuji', were bread in the region between the Indus and Jehlam[77]. In Patti Haibatpur, a parganah in the Bari Doab, such horses were riased as could compete favourably, in strength and speed, with the Iraqi breed. Some of them fetched a price as high as ten to fifteen thousand rupees[78]. Horses of a similar variety and value were bred in Gujrat, a town in the Chenhat Doab[79]. In the 27th regnal year of Shahjahan, Dara Shikoh presented a horse of the 'Punjabi' breed to the emperor. The giant-sized animal, which was built like a mountain, possessed a length of 2½ gaz 1½ tassuj and a height of 2 gaz 3½ tassuj. The emperor remarked that such a huge and strong animal had not been seen among the horses of Hindustan. It was given the name of 'Feel Safed' (فیل سفید) or 'white elephant'[80].

The Subah of Lahore could boast of the production of quality paper. In Sialkot was produced a variety which became famous by the name of 'Man Singhi'. Its connection with Raja Man Singh of Amber is understandable, for he held Sialkot in jagir during the reign of Akbar. Another kind of paper manufactured here was called hariri (حریری) or silken. Known for its whiteness and durability, it was sent to the different parts of the country[81].

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77 Ain., I, (Tr.), p.140.
78 Khulasat, p.66. 79 ibid., p.75.
80 Waris, f.85a ; Kambo, III, p.182.
81 Khulasat, p.72.

Living conditions during the period under study required the common people, besides the professional soldiers, to possess arms. It was, probably to meet such a demand that quality swords and daggers were produced in Gujrat, which possessed artisians skilled in various crafts.[82] Swords, bows and arrows, saddles and tents were manufactured at Lahore.[83]

Sugar of high quality was produced in plenty in the subah.[84] In fact, the whole country between Agra and Lahore yielded great quantities of sugar.[85] The method adopted for the manufacture of sugar at Bassein, near Bombay, might have been employed here also. Sugarcanes were pressed between two great wooden rollers, turned about by oxen, from where they came out thoroughly squeezed. The juice, then, was boiled in cauldrons. After being set to cool at night in earthen vessels, it hardened into white sugar.[86] In March 1638, white grained sugar was being sold at Rs.7 per pucca maund, a coarse variety at Rs.6 or Rs.5 and 12 annas, while sugar-candy was priced at Rs.11.[87]

Rock-salt, which was simply a gift of nature, was extracted from a twenty kos long strip of Koh-i-Jud (Salt Range) situated near Shamsabad in the Sind Sagar Doab. It was hard and clear, being something like, but whiter than, alum. In taste and composition, it surpassed salts produced

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82 Khulasat, p.75. 83 Manucci, II, p.399.

84 De Laet, p.55 ; Pelsaert, p.32.

85 Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol.V, p.268.

86 Guha, J.P., (Ed.), India in the Seventeenth Century, (The Travels of John Francis Gemelli Careri), Vol.II, p.203.

87 E.F. (1637-1641), p.134.

in other parts of the world. Being free from impurities, it was the only salt consumed in these parts.[88] It appears that the government engaged contractors for the mining operations. To start with 200 to 300 yards long tunnels were dug in the body of the mountain, Men, called lasha kash, who were clad only in loin-cloth, entered the darkness of the tunnels. Each carried a lighted torch in one hand and a pick-axe on the shoulder. They emerged laden with pieces of rock-salt, as heavy as three maunds each. It was then that they received the payment of their labour from the contractors. Since it was a life-long pursuit for them, they were not troubled by their hazardous environment. A redeeming feature of the situation was that the temperature in the interior of the tunnels remained unaffected by the change of seasons.[89]

Out of the total produce of rock-salt, three-fourths was the share of the excavators, while one-forth went to the carriers. The traders purchased it at the rate of one-half to two dams per maund. They paid a duty of one rupee for every 17 maunds to the state before transporting it to distant areas. The landowner, on his part, received ten dams for every carrier.[90]

Apart from being used as an essential ingredient of food, the product was used by salt-artificers to make such

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88 Shafaat Ahmed Khan, John Marshall in India, p.414.

89 Khulasat, p.75 ; Manucci, II, p.399.

90 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.319.

articles as plates, dish-covers, lamp-stands etc.[91] Since Mir Abul Qasim had been assigned jagirs in Bhera and Khushab, which were in the vicinity of the Salt Range, he sent, in allusion to his loyalty (namak-halali), cups and plates made of rock-salt to the emperor, Akbar. This was how he got the nickname of 'Namkin'.[92]

Besides rock-salt, the above mentioned mines contained a white stone, whose lime was used to white-wash the houses of the rich. A mine of bismuth (کان قلعی) was found in Jammu. The method employed was to take gravel from the river Tawi, which flowed at the foot of Jammu City, and setting it on fire in a furnace, the product was obtained. No other place produced bismuth of such whiteness and hardness.[93]

The hills situated to the north-east of the subah of Lahore were covered with thick forests. They yielded the wood required to serve various purposes in the plains. Wazirabad, a town on the Chenab, was known for its timber market. It received its supply of wood from the mountains of Chamba, brought down by the agency of the river. Boats made out of this wood were taken to Thatta and Bhakkar to be sold for profit.[94] The department of admiralty supervised the construction of large ships at Lahore, which were then sent to the court.[95]

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91 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.319.
92 Ain, I, (Tr.), p.526. M.U., II, (Tr.), p.508.
93 Khulasat, pp.74-75. 94 ibid., p.77.
95 Ain., I, (Tr.), p.290.

The city of Lahore was the most important commercial centre north of the imperial capital. It was served by trade routes of national and international import. It was connected by road with Agra and Delhi in the south east, with Multan and Thatta in the south-west, with Kashmir in the north and with Kabul and Qandhar in the west.[96] At most places these highways possessed facilities sought by the travelling merchants. Fruit-bearing trees and drinking-water wells were present on both sides of the roads. Jahangir ordered the erection of a pillar at every kos to serve as milestone, and the provision of a well at every three kos from Agra to Lahore.[97] Sarais, built like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates, were found at short intervals. Besides providing board and lodge to the wayfarers, the sarais ensured the complete security of their persons and property. Some of them were large enough to accomodate 800 to 1000 persons, alongwith their horses, camels and carriages.[98] Within the premises of the sarais were found dealers in various goods,

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96 For the details of these routes, refer to, Jadunath, Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, XCiX-CV ; Tavernier, I, pp. 93-96 ; De Laet, pp.49-50, 55-56 ; Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol.IV, pp.267-269 ; Foster, W., Early Travels in India, pp.244, 284, 293.

97 Tuzuk, II, p.100 ; Manucci, I, p.160.
Qulij Khan Turani, who became the governor of the subah of Lahore in the 17th.regnal year of Shahjahan, erected inns all along the way from Lahore to Multan; See, M.U., II, (Tr.), p.543.

98 Ain, I, (Tr.), p.232 ; Khulasat, p.9 ; Manucci, I, p.67.

barbers, tailors, washermen, musicians, dancing-girls and sellers of fodder for animals.[99]

Transport of goods over the land was controlled by professionals called banjaras.[100] Ordinarily they moved in caravans consisting of 10,000 to 12,000 oxen, each ox carrying a load of 300 to 350 livers. Camels were rarely included in the caravans, though they were often employed to carry the baggage of the nobles.[101] Caravans of wagons often consisted of 100 to 200 vehicles. Each wagon drawn by 10 to 12 oxen, was accompanied by four soldiers (rather attendants) whom the owner of the merchandise was required to pay. Two of them walked on each side of the wagon, over which two cords were passed. The four ends were held by the porters, so that if the wagon threatened to turn over, the two who were on the opposite side, held the cords tight to maintain its equilibrium.[102] The freight or cartage of goods from Agra to Lahore (if the royal standards had not left for that place) was usually was not more than Rs.2 per maund ; from Sirhind to Lahore, Rs.¾ per maund ; from Sarwarpur to Lahore, Re.1 per maund ; from Lahore to Multan, Re.1 per 46 seers.[103]

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99 Manucci, I, p.115.

100 Tapan Raychaudhari and Irfan Habib, (Eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol.I, p.354.

101 Tarvernier, I, p.40.

102 ibid., p.43.

103 E.F. (1637-1641), p.135.

The import of horses into the Mughal empire was carried out through Lahore. 'Droves after droves' of horses poured in regularly from various countries of western and Central Asia as well as Africa.[104] Those which came from Ethopia, Arabia and Persia arrived usually by the sea, while those which came from Balkh, Badakhshan, Bokhara and Samarqand were transported over-land via Kabul. The total number of horses imported annually has been estimated at one lakh,[105] out of which more than 25,000 were brought in by the Uzbegs.[106] Since the state was the biggest buyer of the horses, various measures were enforced to regulate their import. First, separate quarters were established for the horse-dealers and horses so that they were not troubled by unfavourable weather. However, the merchants who were known for their uprightness, could keep their horses where they pleased. Second, an officer, called Amir-i-Caravansarai, was appointed to prevent the dealers from indulging in unhealthy practices. Third, a clever writer was engaged to examine the horses and fix their prices, in the order in which they were imported.[107] As such, it has been rightly stated that no horse could be sold without the knowledge of the emperor's agents.[108].

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104 Ain, I(Tr.), p.140 ; Father Pierre du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, p.6.

105 Bernier, p.203.

106 Manucci, II , p.366.

107 Ain., I, (Tr.), p.141.

108 Monserrate, p.208.

When Kashmir, Kabul and Qandhar became integral parts of the empire, a large variety of fruit began to reach the bazars of Lahore. The stores of the dealers remained full and well-supplied throughout the year. Musk-melons appeared in plenty in the months of March and April, while nashpati, babashaykhi, alisheri, alcha, barg-i-nay, dud-i-chiragh etc. continued for another two months. In the beginning of August they came from Kashmir ; before they were exhausted, supplies began to reach from Kabul. These were superseded by caravans from Badkhshan, which arrived in the month of November.[109]

Various kinds of grapes could be had from the month of May to July. The bazars of Lahore were stocked with such varities as the sahibi, the habshi and the kishmishi.[110] In Kashmir, they were sold at the rate of 8 sers per dam ; the cost of transportation stood at Rs.2 per man. The Kashmiri porters brought them on their backs in curious-looking conical baskets. From September onwards grapes were received from Kabul alongwith cherries, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apircots, girjalus, aluchas etc. Likewise, melons, pears and apples arrived from Samarqand.[111] In the beginning of seventtenth century, merchants from Persia brought pomegranates of Yazd and melons of Kariz, which were found far superior to their counterparts

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109 Ain, I, (Tr.), p.68.

110 Tuzuk, I, p.5.

111 Ain., I, (Tr.), pp.69-69 ; Manaucci, II, p.366.

from Badakhshan and Kabul.[112] Dry fruits like almonds, pistachio, raisins and various kinds of nuts were also imported from those parts.[113]

Ice was brought by boats, post-carriages or bearers from the district of Panhan (Pathan?) in the northern mountains, about forty-five kos from Lahore. The dealers secured considerable profit, two or three seers of ice being sold for a rupee. The greatest profit was derived when it was brought by water, next when by carriages and least when by bearers. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, one boat out of a total of ten employed for the purpose, arrived daily at Lahore, each being manned by four boatmen. Each bundle contained 6 to 12 seers, depending upon the temperature. A carriage which brought two loads, covered the journey in fourteen stages ; besides an elephant was also used. By this kind of transport, twelve pieces of 4 to 10 seers arrived daily. The bearers, twenty eight in number, covered a distance of fourteen stages on foot. They carried one load, containing four parcels every day. In the beginning of the year, the ice was valued at 5 d 19½ j, in the middle 16 d 2½ j to 19 d 15 5/8 j and in the average 8 7/8 d per seer. All ranks used ice in summer ; the nobles used it throughout the year.[114]

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112 Tuzuk, I, pp.270, 423, 435.

113 Bernier, p.204.

114 Ain., I, (Tr.), pp.58-59.

The products of the various parts of the empire were transported to Lahore over the Agra-Lahore highway. Though the silk stuffs of Bengal were inferior to those of Persia, Syria and Beirut, they found a ready market in Lahore on account of their low price.[115] Likewise the manufacturers of cotton cloth at Patna preferred to dispose off their goods at Lahore, where greater profit was anticipated.[116] Agra exported to Lahore most of the spices brought in by the Dutch ; all kinds of cotton goods from Bengal and Golconda ; ivory wrought in the neighbourhood of Multan ; silk from Patna ; turbans, girdles and all sorts of silk goods woven in Ahmedabad ; and such miscellaneous articles as quicksilver, vermilion, coral, lac, pepper, gum 'and drugs too numerous to be named'.[117] Though, the Koil indigo was not as reputed as that of Bayana, it was purchased by merchants from Lahore. An inferior brand of indigo, produced in Mewat and priced at Rs.20 per maund (cheaper than the Bayana variety by Rs.10) was also marketed at Lahore.[118] English factors, who sought to sell an assortment of goods including diamonds, tapestries and broadcloths at Lahore, also patronized the Agra-Lahore highway.[119] The

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115 Bernier, p.439.
116 E.F. (1618-1621) ,p.204.
117 Pelsaert, p.31.
118 ibid., p.15.
119 E.F. (1624-1629) ,pp.91,93,151,172.

products of Deccan or Burhanpur, too, were transported to Lahore over the same highway.[120]

Various products of Lahore found their way to the different parts of the country. In 1676, a coarse and thick cloth made at Lahore was being sold in Patna for Rs.5 per piece, 11 covids 18 inches long and 1¼ covids broad.[121] Ahmedabad received the cotton cloth prepared at Lahore,[122] while Agra acquired ormesines and carpets woven at the same place.[123] English factors were also interested in buying the products of Lahore. On one occasion, their shopping-list included 20,000 pieces of calicoes, narrow cloth, semanes, musk and civet,[124] as well as 8000 maunds of gum-lac 'which was only to be had in Lahore and thereabouts'.[125] They regarded Lahore as 'the principal entrepot for the carpets so much in vogue in Europe' and sought to purchase them to be sold in English.[126] However, they dissolved their factory at Lahore and reduced it to Agra, 'where semianoes are to be procured and Lahore indigo as easily as at Lahore, with far less expense'. 127

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120 Pelsaert, p.6.

121 Temple, R.C., (Ed.), The Diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol.II, p.90.

122 Guha, J.P., (Ed.), India in the Seventeenth Century, (Travels of Mr.de Thevenot), Vol.II, p.21.

123 Pelsaert, pp.9, 31.

124 E.F. (1618-21), pp.234-235.

125 E.F. (1624-29), pp.93, 309.

126 E.F. (1618-21), pp.XXI ; E.F. (1624-29), p.93.

127 E.F. (1618-21), p.326.

Lahore, by virtue of its unique geographical position, served as the connecting-link between the various commercial centres of the empire. Such products of Kashmir as saffron, walnuts and pamris were routed through Lahore for Agra.[128] Likewise, sugar, gallnuts, brimstone, opium, sulphur, camels, bows, white cotton goods and napkins -- all produced in Multan -- came by way of Lahore to Agra, to be distributed in all directions.[129] Pepper and spices were sent up the river from Thatta to Lahore, from where they were despatched to different places.[130] On one occasion, the Armenian merchants brought over-land from Persia, great quantities of broad-cloth, and sold it at such low rates that Lahore and Agra were both 'cloyed'.[131]

A busy traffic in the opposite direction has also been noted. Merchants from different parts of the empire, collected at Lahore, invested in various commodities and joined carvans consisting of twelve to fourteen thousand camels, bound for Isfahan via Qandhar.[132] The outgoing carvans have been valued at Rs.62 lakhs,[133] and their volume has been estimated at 3000 tons, including the baggage and provisions

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128 Pelsaert, pp.35-36.

129 ibid., p.31 ; De Laet, p.78 ; Guha, op.cit., p.94.

130 Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol.IV., p.269.

131 E.F. (1642-1645), p.18.

132 Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol.IV, loc-cit.

133 Naqvi, H.K., Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, p.43.

of the merchants.[134] The chief market for indigo developed at Lahore and not Agra, for merchants found it convenient to acquire the famous Biana indigo at Lahore itself and carry it to Aleppo by way of Qandhar and Isfahan. Therefore, the indigo that reached Europe from Aleppo or the Levant was known as 'Lahori'.[135] English factors felt convinced that it would be more economical to bring their Agra goods to Thatta by way of Lahore than to Surat via Burhanpur or Ahmedabad.[136] The merchants of Sind transported goods bought in Agra to Lahore or Multan on carts and thence to their destination by the river. The cost of transportation was worked out to be Rs.3 per 72 lbs.[137]

Though a road existed between Lahore and Thatta via Multan, the transport of goods to and from that region was usually carried out by the river system consisting of the Ravi, Chenab and Indus. White cotton goods, yarn and silk taffacils (striped cloth woven both in cotton and silk) turbans, girdles, loin-cloths, Bengal cloth, Lahore indigo, painted cloth and much sugar, both candy and powder, were brought down to Lahri Bandar by shallow

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134 Moreland,W.H.,India at the Death of Akbar,p.207.

135 Pelsaert,p.30 ; E.F.(1634-1636),p.142.

136 E.F.(1634-1636),p.244.

137 ibid.,p.192.

138 Pelsaert,pp.31-32.

draught vessels from Lahore and Multan.[138] In 1636, large flat-bottomed boats of 100 tons burden and upwards were found coming down from Lahore laden with sugar, sugar-candy, naushadar, ginger dry and conserved.[139] Though sugar was produced in adequate quantity in Lahore and adjacent areas, it was sent up the river from Multan to Lahore.[140] Also, boats laden with pepper, tin, lead, spices, broad-cloth, dates, cokernuts etc. reached Lahore from Thatta.[141] During the reign of Aurangzeb, vessels of nearly 200 tons carried an extensive trade from Thatta to Multan and Lahore.[142] It was after the end of the rainy season that boats plied between Lahore and Thatta via Multan, Sitpur, Bhakkar and Rohri ; the time taken was about forty days, while the return journey extended to over two months.[143] The freight charges from Multan to Thatta were not more than one rupee per maund.[144]

The imposition of a number of cesses, tolls and imposts constituted a serious impediment to the free

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138 Pelsaert, pp.31-32.
139 E.F.(1634-1636), p.244.
140 Pelsaert, p.31.
141 E.F.(1634-1636), loc.cit.
142 Rennell, op.cit., p.178.
143 De Laet, pp.51,68 ; Foster, op.cit., p.218.
144 E.F.(1634-1636), p.131.

flow of trade. The Mughal emperors sought to minimise, if not eliminate, the burden on the trading community. Early in his reign, Akbar ordered the abolition of baj and tamgha,[145] the former a toll levied by the road patrol and the latter a stamp-tax generally for imports.[146] Since 'a long and dangerous disease could not be cured without great exertions by the physician,' the ordinance was issued again in 1579.[147] Again, in the 40th regnal year of Akbar, when it became knwon that forcible and illegal exactions were being made at the ferries, the practice was forbidden. The application of the law from Lahore to Hindu Koh was entrusted to Zain Khan Koka, from Lahore to Bengal to Daulat Khan and from Lahore to Gujrat to Ram Das Kachhwa.[148]

On his accession, Jahangir forbade the levy of cesses under the names of tamgha, ~~Mir~~ mir bahri (river tolls) and other burdens, collected illegally by the jagirdars in various provinces and districts. For the benefit of the merchants, it was ordered that their bales were not to be opened without their permission.[149] A more significant concession was the remission of transit dues (sair jihat)

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145 A.N., II, p.28.

146 Farooque, A.K.M., Roads and Communications in Mughal India, p.164.

147 A.N., III, p.296 ; Badauni, II, p.276.

148 A.N., III, p.670.

149 Tuzuk, I, p.7.

in Kabul, which brought 1 crore 23 lakhs of dams to the exchequer. The measure was expected to prove beneficial to the merchants of Iran and Turan.[150] In 1617, Jahangir claimed that as a result of his order to remit the custom duties throughout the empire, the very name of tamgha had disappeared.[151]

Early in his reign, Aurangzeb abolished the collection of rahdari (transit duties) on grain and other articles, at a loss of Rs.25 lakhs to the exchequer.[152] He was also reported to have remitted the tax on tobacco.[153]

It appears that, inspite of the above measures, the merchants, continued to be taxed in one way or the other. However, no attempt was made to conceal the ugly fact. For instance, Akbar enforced a tax of Rs.3 for every Iraqi Mujannas and Arab horse, imported from Kabul and Persia ; Rs.2½ for every Turkish and Arabian horse received from Qandhar ; and Rs.2 for every Kabul horse and the Indian-bred Arab.[154] As if to compensate the dealer for this burden, the emperor paid half as much above the price fixed for every horse purchased by the government.[155] According to

150 Tuzuk, I, pp.47, 107.
151 ibid., p.417.
152 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.27.
153 ibid., p.530 ; Manucci, II, pp.163-164.
154 Ain, I, (Tr.), p.225.
155 ibid., p.141.

Manucci, at the crossing of the Indus, the rate of tax on every horse stood at 25 percent of its value.[156] A duty of Re.1 per 17 maunds of rock-salt was paid by the traders before they could transport it from the Salt Range to distant areas.[157] In 1616, the right of collecting rahdari(transit dues) of the Khyber belonged to one, Qadam, of the Afridi Afghans.[158] Goods carried down the river from Lahore to Thatta were charged rahdari at the rate of 2.5 percent, besides some other charges which amounted to another 0.25 per cent. Rahdari for all boats from 500 to 2000 maunds was not less than Rs.1000.[159] Thus, the burden of transit duties depended not on the quality of goods but on their quantity and on the distance they had to be carried.[160]

Besides the numerous taxes, the commercial traffic of the subah of Lahore was adversely affected by the silting of the mouth of the Indus. The goods produced in Lahore-Multan region were, of necessity, taken overland to Surat via Agra. Since the cost of transportation was much more than what it was by the river-route, merchants

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156 Manucci, II, p.366.
157 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.319.
158 Tuzuk, I, p.321.
159 E.F.(1637-1641), pp.135-136.
160 Pant, D., Commercial Policy of the Moguls, p.83.

discontinued their investment at Lahore and Multan. Artisans were forced to desert their occupations,[161] while Khatris, the reputed tradesmen of Lahore, were forced to live on what was left of their old profits.[162] The trade of Lahore suffered in another way. Since the Ravi between Lahore and Multan was somewhat shallow at many places, the merchants of Sind hired carts from Agra to Multan, and thus, avoided coming to Lahore altogether.[163]

The narrative in the preceding pages might well be summed up in the words of Thevenot, who wrote, "Lahore is one of the largest and most abundant provinces of the Indies; the rivers that are in it render it extremely fertile ; it yields all that is necessary for life ; rice, as well as corn and fruits are plentiful there ; there is pretty good wine in it also, and the best sugars of all Indostan. There are in the towns manufactures, not only of all sorts of painted cloths, but also of everything else that is wrought in the Indies ; and indeed, according to the account of my Indian, it brings in to the Great Mogul above thirty seven millions a year, which is a great argument of its fruitfulness".[164] However, the statement should not lead us to conclude that the subah of Lahore enjoyed unprecedented economic prosperity during

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161 Tavernier, I, p.91 ; Guha, op.cit, pp.93-94.

162 Pelsaert, p.30.

163 E.F.(1634-1636)p.131.

164 Guha, op.cit., pp.103-104.

the period under study. For, the dependence of cultivation on rainfall and the, not too infrequent, occurrence of droughts, famines and floods, seriously undermined agricultural production. The flow of trade and commerce suffered from the numerous legal and illegal imposts, the increased freight charges for carrying goods over-land on account of the silting of the Indus, and the disturbed conditions emerging in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Chapter VIII

SOCIO - RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS : MUSLIMS

The subah of Lahore appears to have possessed a considerable Muslim population, though it is not possible to determine it exactly. As early as the eleventh century, when the region came under Ghaznavide oc cupation, soliders and administrators, poets and lietrateurs, mystics and religious thinkers, made a permanent home for themselves here.[1] Following the fall of Baghdad in 1258, at the hands of Halaku, and the establishment of the Mongol Kingdom, extending from Amu Darya to the borders of Syria, a large number of Muslim migrants from the conquered lands found a permanent asylum in northern India.[2] This nucleus of Muslim population continued to grow over the centuries with the conversion of the Hindus, who were drawn to Islam by (besides other factors) the mystics through their alleged power of working miracles.[3]

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1 Qureshi, I.H., The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, p.54.

2 Rizvi, S.A.A., Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, pp.7-8.

3 Mujeeb, M., The Indian Muslims, pp.21-22.

One of the earliest of such mystics was Shaikh Ismail, who had settled in Lahore (1003), even before a Muslim governor had been appointed by Mahmud of Ghazni. A phenomenal success as a missionary, he was reputed to have converted thousands of people to Islam, one of his disciples, Sultan Sakhi Sarwar (d.1181) had a considerable following among the Hindus.[4] It is significant that Kashf-ul-Mahjub, the earliest treatise on sufism written in India, was authored by Shaikh Ali bin Usman Hujwiri (d. 1072 or 1079) of Lahore.[5]

Though Islamic mysticism has generally been held to be as old as Islam itself, it had crystallised itself into a number of silsilas (orders) by the twelfth century.[6] The most widespread and probably the oldest of such orders was the Qadiriyya. Founded in Iraq by Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166), it advocated a dissuasion from worldliness and laid much emphasis on piety and humanitarianism.[7] The order acquired great prestige and popularity with the initiation in it of Ibn-i-Arabi (1165-1240), one of the greatest Muslim thinkers of all times. His pantheistic doctrine of wahdat-ul-wajud -- according to which Man was the microcosm in which all the divine attributes were united and in Man alone did God become fully conscious of Himself.[8] -- was adopted by the Qadirites as their creed.[9] In the north-western India, the

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4 Qureshi, loc.cit.

5 Aziz Ahmed, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, p.34

6 Rizvi, S.A.A., A History of Sufism in India, Vol.I, p.83.

7 Fazlur Rahman, Islam, pp.158-159.

8 Nicholson, R.A. Mysticism, in Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (Eds.), The Legacy of Islam, p.224.

9 Rizvi, S.A.A., A History of Sufism in India, Vol.II, p.54.

Qadirriyah silsilah appeared only in the later half of the fifteenth century when Shaikh Muhammad Husaini and his descendants made Uch the centre of their activities.[10]

Shaikh Daud (d.1575) of Jheni, a town attached to the district of Lahore, contributed much to the spread of the Qadiriyya order. Born at Sitpur in Multan, he received his formal education at Lahore, under Maulana Ismail of Uch. In the absence of a spiritual guide, he spent twenty years of his life longing for spiritual bliss. Finally, at the bidding of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri of Uch, who was a direct descendant of Shaikh Muhammad Husaini, he began to propagate the Qadirriya doctrine from Shergarh, fifteen miles north of Dipalpur. His unorthodox religious practices attracted the notice of Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, who summoned him to Gwalior through an order issued by Islam Shah. Shaikh Daud, however, succeeded in satisfying his detractors, who allowed him to go. The Shaikh possessed a liberal and charitable disposition. On certain fixed occasions in a year, he distributed all his money and goods to the needy. Such was his fame that Badauni came all the way to Shergarh to have a discourse with him. It was believed that not a day passed when fifty to a hundred Hindus, along with their families, did not embrace Islam at the Shaikh's instance. Badauni's reference to the Shaikh as the founder of the Qadiriyya order is technically incorrect; yet, it indicates the services rendered by him to the consolidation of the silsilah.[11]

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10 Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, pp.202-207.

11 Badauni, III, pp.28-39

Shaikh Abu Ishaq of Lahore was one of the discipl-es of Shaikh Daud, to whom he was attached in an intimate relationship. In traversing the path of righteousness, he surpassed his contemporaries. He remained confined in the priva-cy of his cell, which was located in a garden. He avoided the company of all men, except two or three associates of Shaikh Daud. He was not in favour of enrolling disciples. The influence enjoyed by him and his pir in the neighbourhood of Lahore, becomes evident from the following anecdote. On his journey from Lahore to Shergarh, Badauni was waylaid by certain Jats and highwaymen. But when they learnt that he had just taken leave of Shaikh Ishaq and was going to pay his respects to Shaikh Daud, they submitted themselves to Badauni and treated him with great consideration.[12]

Shaikh Abul Maali was a nephew, son-in-law and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Daud. He bore immense reverence and love for his saintly preceptor to whom the had surrendered his will completely. He has recounted the mystical experiences of his pir in a book entitled Naghmat-i-Daudi.[13] He was the very embodiment of self-effacement and holy poverty. He excelled his contemporaries in the pursuit of righteousness. He composed mystical verses under the nom-de-plume of Gurbati. The following couplet of his deserves attention.[14]

I sit on the throne of poverty, now that
I have attained my desire,

12 Badauni, III,pp.48-49.

13 ibid.,p.30

14 ibid.,p.102.

I reign like Sulaiman, for I am heart
and soul the slave of Daud.

Shaikh Bilawal Qadiri was another prominent mystic of the subah. Having migrated from Herat, his forefathers had settled at Shaikhupura, about twenty miles from Lahore. A disciple of Shamsuddin Qadiri of Lahore, he was a strict adherent of the doctrine of wahdut-ul-wujud. His personal life was marked by a high degree of puritanism. He remained aloof from the people, being constantly engaged in solitary prayers. However, he possessed a cheerful and hospitable disposition. Whenever he conversed, he did so in a sweet manner and offered appropriate sermons and advice to the people, who listened to him in devotion. He maintained a running kitchen which remained open for all. He also wrote recommendatory letters on behalf of the needy to the officials in authority. It was believed that if a cup of water, breathed over by the Shaikh was administered to the sick, it could cure him.[15] Having heard of his great reputation, Shah Jahan visited his khanqah in 1635 and had a illuminating dialogue with him. The emperor made a gift of Rs.10,000 to the care-takers of the Shaikh's establishment.[16] A life long bachelor, the Shaikh died in January, 1637.[17]

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15 Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I,pp.161-163.

16 Kambo,II,p.73.

17 Lahori, I(ii),p.334. ; Kambo,III,pp.366-367.

The Qadiriyya silsilah attained its zenith in the subah of Lahore under the stewardship of Miyan Mir, an ontological monist deeply under the influence of Ibn-i-Arabi.[18] He was born in 1550 at Siwistan,[19] a town situated between Bhakkar and Thatta, and in a family of qazis. Having lost his father at the age of seven, he learnt to tread on this path under the guidance of his mother, who was a mystic in her own right. With her permission, he became a disciple of Shaikh Khizr, who undertook mystic exercises in the hills of Siwistan.[20]

At the advice of his pir, Miyan Mir, then in his early twenties came to Lahore, where he lived for more than sixty years.[21] He began to live in the mosques of the city and studied traditional (manqul) and rational (maqul) sciences under the guidance of an outstanding scholar of Akbar's reign, Maulana Saadullah and his disciple Maulana Niamatullah. He achieved considerable proficiency in ilm-i-zahir and ilm-i-batin.[22] He could quote extensively from Ibn-i-Arabi's work Futuhat-i-Makkiyya (Meccan Revelations). He had also committed to memory Jami's commentary on Ibn-i-Arabi's Fasus-al-Hikam (Bezels of Wisdom). The scholars of the day often consulted him on the intricate problems concerning tasawuf.[23]

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18 Aziz Ahmed, op.cit.,p.42.

19 Sakinat-ul-Auliya,p.95 ; Safinat-ul-Auliya(Urdu Tr.),p.101.

20 Sakinat-ul-Auliya,pp.25-29 ; Kambo,III,p.364

21 Sakinat-ul-Auliya,p.94 ; Safinat-ul-Auliya(Urdu Tr.).,p.102.

22 Sakinat-ul-Auliya,pp.30-31.

23 Kambo,III,p.363.

After completing his formal education, Miyan Mir started undergoing spiritual exercises. Accompanied by a few companions, he would begin by visting the tombs of holy men. Then they would go to the woods and gardens for contemplation, each sitting alone under a tree. However, they would collect at one place at the time of namaz, a practice said to have been followed by Prophet Muhammad. After a year's sojourn at Sirhind, where he took his first disciple, Haji Niamatullah Sirhindi, Miyan Mir returned to Lahore. He settled in the Muhalla Baghbanan, popularly known as Khafipura, where he lived till the end of his life.[24] Soon the city developed into the most important centre of the Qadirites in the empire.[25]

Miyan Mir had strong aversion to the company of people and did not relish visitors. He believed that one who acquired perfection in tajrid (solitude), achieved his aim in a short time. He would stay for as long as fifteen days in a deserted house outside the city in order to meditate in peace. Sometimes, he would lock himself in his hujra (cell) for the whole night, and prayed with his face towards Mecca, either alone or in company with one or two associates -- a practice universally followed by Miyan Mir's disciples.[26] When Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, a leading

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24 Sakinat-ul-Aulia, pp.31-34.

25 In his work, Risala-i-Haqnuma, Dara Shikoh has given an exposition of the Qadiriyya system of meditation ; see Hasrat, B.J., Dara Shikuh : Life and Works, pp.72-75.

26 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, p.32; Safinat-ul-Auliya, (Urdu Tr.), p.103.

scholar of the day, raised doubts about the utility of praying alone, Miyan asserted that it was huzur-i-qalb (concentration) and not the jamaat (congregation) which was the essential feature of the namaz.[27]

Miyan Mir believed that a person who had chosen the path of mysticism should have absolute faith (tawakkul) in God, with whom he should be in constant communion. He often recited the following couplet, which meant that one who remained forgetful of God even for a moment was an infidel, though a hidden one.[28]

کسی کو غافل از حق یک زمانست
در آندم کافر است اما نہانست

The Miyan himself remained in a perpetual state of istaghraq (استغراق) or self annihilation, unconscious even of the piece of bread in his hand while eating.[29] It was also considered essential to drive away all kinds of khatra (خطرہ) or distracting thoughts from the heart.[30] Moreover, he disapproved of a namaz, which was not free from distracting thoughts.[31]

Like Abdul Qadir Jilani, Miyan Mir advocated a strict adherence to the shariat.[32] For, it constituted the first stage in the path of suluk or mysticism, when all obligations enjoined by

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27 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp.50-51.

28 ibid., pp.32-33.

29 ibid., p.42.

30 ibid., p.38; Safinat-ul-Auliya (Urdu Tr.)., p.102.

31 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, p.50.

32 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp.64,67; Safinat-ul-Auliya(Urdu Tr.), p.102.

Islam were faithfully adhered to. As a result, the second stage, tariqat, was reflected on the mirror of talib's (neophyte's) heart. This stage involved the purification of heart from all evil intentions, understanding the transitory nature of existence and obliterating everything from the heart except God. In the third stage, haqiqat, the communion with God took place. Further, the Miyan believed that human being was constituted of three things -- body (nafs), heart (dil) and soul (ruh). Each one of these could be reformed by observing the rules of the shariat, tariqat and haqiqat respectively.[33]

Miyan Mir took few disciples,[34] for it was rare to find one who was truly inclined towards God. But, when he did take one, he saw to it that he was guided to his destination, unlike numerous Shaikhs of the day who enrolled a large number of disciples only to acquire cheap popularity. Miyan Mir had prescribed a tough course for the talib. The first thing required of him was to renounce both the worlds. Then came riyazat-i-shaqa (ریاضت شاقہ) or hard spiritual exercises, which involved cutting down in the amount of

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33 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, p.83.

34 The leading disciples of Miyan Mir were (Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp. 132-245) as follows. 1) Haji Niamatullah Sirhindi 2) Miyan Natha 3) Haji Mustafa 4) Mulla Hamid Gujar 5) Mulla Roohi 6) Mulla Khwaja Kalan 7) Saleh Kashmiri 8) Mulla Abdul Ghafur 9) Mulla Shah Badakhshi 10) Mulla Khwaja Bihari 11) Shaikh Muhammad Lahori 12) Miyan Haji Muhammad Banyani 13) Shaikh Ahmed Sunami 14) Shaikh Ahmed Dehalvi 15) Miyan Abul Maali 16) Shah Abdul Ghani 17) Miyan Muhammad Murad 18) Abdul Rehman Mirza Madari 19) Shaikh Abdul Wahid 20) Mulla Muhammad Sharif 21) Mulla Abu Bakar 22) Mulla Isa Sialkoti 23) Sayyid Ashraf.

food, sleep and speech. In the early stages of their relationship, the Miyan projected himself as the beloved (maashuq) and the neophyte (talib) as his lover (ashiq). At this stage, the more the preceptor-beloved overlooked the neophyte-lover, the more was the latter drawn towards the former. In this, manner, the neophyte was repeatedly tested for his sincerity and determination. Without going through such a test a hundred times, one could not become a sahib-i-asrar (صاحب اسرار) or knower of secrets. When the talib was found strongly entrenched in his love, the Miyan became his lover and regarded the talib as his beloved.[35] It may be pointed out that he did not regard his disciple as such, but as yaar aziz or 'dear comrade,' for the institution of piri-muridi did not exist in the times of the Prophet.[36]

A number of miracles were said to have been exhibited by Miyan Mir in an entirely involuntary manner. But he tried to to conceal them most scruplously, for he strongly disapproved of the act of performing miracles. In fact, he did not even like to talk about it. He believed that miracles were of two kinds, akhtiari and iztrari. The former were shown by those ahl-i-dawat who, in order to fulfill a desire, repeated one of the numerous names of God, and by doing so succeeded in their aim. The latter were those which could not be performed by any voluntary effort, but were entirely willed by God.[37]

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35 Sakinat-ul-Auliya.,pp.36-40; Safinat-ul-Auliya(Urdu Tr.),P.102.

36 Sakinat-ul-Auliya,pp.73-74.

37 ibid.,p.100.

Miyan Mir was found of listening to Hindi (probably the local language) songs. When any qawwal turned up, a sama (سماع) or audition party was also held. On such occasions, his face illumined with happiness. However, he did not make it a regular practice, nor did he keep a qawwal in his employ. Moreover, his adherence to the shariat as well as his self-control were so strong that he never fell into a state of ecstasy (wajd) and dance (raqs). Sama and wajd were two different things, the former being defined as listening to songs (naghma) and the latter as dancing with raised hands. It becomes evident that so far as its attitude towards music was concerned, the Qadiriyya silsilah had taken up a position midway between those adopted by the Chistiyya (who considered sama, wajd and raqs as permissible) and the Naqshbandiyya (who did not allow it)[38]

Miyan Mir ate very little ; he remained hungry for as long as two weeks, without letting his condition be known. Nothing was cooked in his house for thirty years. Subsequently, a khadim cooked his meals which were invariably of the same kind. The Miyan ate in in company with his disciples. If any one of them was not present, his share was sent to him.[39] It has been asserted that the Miyan hardly slept at all, that he spent the whole night in one breath, and that after having crossed the age of eighty, he did so in four breaths.[40]

Miyan Mir did not dress like the sufis of the day. On his head he wrapped a low-priced white turban. Instead of the usual

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38 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp.69-72.

39 ibid., pp.41-42.

40 ibid., pp.32-33.

khirqa, he wore a shirt (jama) of coarse cotton, which he washed himself on the river bank. He believed that one should dress in such a manner that none should know that he was a faqir. He severely reprimanded a leading disciple, Haji Muhammad Banyani, who paid undue attention to his attire and wore fine clothes, and thereby attracted the reverence of the multitude of the bazar.[41]

Miyan Mir did not accept gifts of cash or valuables from the rulers, administrators and commoners. However, if a disciple offered anything out of devotion, he did not reject it. Also, he accepted cooked food from wherever it came, but only when it was needed immediately.[42] It may be pointed out that he strongly disapproved of Bahauddin Zakariya's (the famous Suhrawardi saint of Multan) ostentatious style of living.[43]

Miyan Mir's eminence as a mystic par excellence was recognized by all sections of the society. Though Jahangir was generally ill-disposed towards holy men, he was deeply impressed with the spiritual attainments of the Miyan and even sought to be enrolled as a disciple.[44] Shahjahan derived immense spiritual benefit from the saint, whom he met twice.[45] The emperor found only two mystics in the whole empire worthy of reference --- Shah Fazlullah of Burhanpur and Miyan Mir.[46] Dara Shikoh, a mystic in

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41 Sakinat-ul-Auliya., pp.59-61.

42 Sakinat-ul-Auliya., pp.43-44 ; Safinat-ul-Auliya(Urdu Tr.), p.102 ; Kambo, III.p.364.

43 Sakinat-ul-Auliya., p.62.

44 Tuzuk, II, p.119 ; Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp. 46-48.

45 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp.48-49.

46 Lahori, I(ii)p.331 ; Kambo, II, pp.72-73.

his own right, possessed unbounded veneration for Miyan Mir, whom he immortalised through his work, Sakinat-ul-Auliya.[47] Besides the ruling elite, a number of spiritually inclined commoners, belonging to various parts of the empire, were drawn to him.[48]

Besides the Qadirites, there were a number of lesser Muslim saints, each one of whom had a following in his own limited sphere. The most important of them was Shah Daula who, in his early life, had been a slave of Mehta Khem Karan Badhera of Sialkot.[49] He was exceedingly devoted to faqirs, in particular to Miyan Sayyid Bah, whom he served for a long time. Before his death, the Miyan conferred spiritual enlightenment on his disciple. Thereafter, Shah Daula left Sialkot and settled permanently at Gujrat. His fame as a holy man spread in all directions. Devotees in large numbers began to visit his establishment. The offerings made by them in the form of cash or kind, exceeded all imits of calculation. An amount more than that was distributed to the needy by Shah Daula himself, 'so that the people forgot the very name of Hatim'. However, his charity extended to areas untouched by other philanthropists. He was reputed to have constructed the bridge over the Degh, where it intersected the imperial highway, at a distance of five kos from Aminabad in the direction of Lahore. It has been claimed that a

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47 Sakinat-ul-Auliya, p.53.

48 For a detailed account of the disciples of Miyan Mir, see Sakinat-ul-Auliya, pp.132-245.

49 Char Bagh-i-Punjab, p.177.

construction as strong as this could not have been built by the emperors or his amirs. Shah Daula died in the seventeenth regnal year of Aurangzeb. His mausoleum, which stood near the town of Gujrat,[50] became a place of pilgrimage for both the Muslims and the Hindus.[51]

It was believed that Shah Daula possessed the miraculous power of granting the boon of children to the childless. People desirous of a child prayed at the saint's shrine and vowed to make a present of the baby when born or an offering to the shrine. On the birth of the child, some parents failed to fulfil their part of the promise. As a punishment, the spirit of the offended saint cursed them in such a way that the next child of the couple turned out to be a chuha (microcephalous idiot) - brainless, small headed, long eared and rat-faced. This phenomenon, it was believed, continued to repeat itself until the vow was fulfilled.[52]

The cult of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, which was characterized by heterodox religious practices, appears to have claimed a considerable following in the subah of Lahore. It is not possible to give an objective account of its origin and growth, for the meagre historical facts about the saint (d.1181) have been buried under the dead weight of legends. It has been mentioned at the outset that he was a disciple of Shaikh Ismail of Lahore and had numerous Hindus among his followers -- a trend attributable to his having failed to

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50 Khulasat, p.74.

51 Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frointer Province, Vol.I., p.634.

52 ibid., p.630.

introduce a distinctive creed and confining himself to the performing of the miracles. His priests, called Bharais, were Muslim almost to a man. He chose Nigaha in the Dera Ghazi Khan district as his abode and pilgrimage to which became a special feature of the cult. Every village of central part of British Punjab could boast of a humble edifice dedicated to the saint.[53] The village of Dhaunkal, twelve kos from Sialkot, contained a monument associated with Sultan Sarwar which attracted a regular stream of visitors, particularly during a period of two months in summer, when innumerable devotees gathered to make offerings.[54]

Sakhi Sarwar Sultan was essentially a saint of the Jats and was worshipped in the Jat-dominated central districts of British Punjab. It has been suggested that the cult spread among the Jats in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and that most of the converts to the Khalsa were drawn from the worshippers of Sarwar.[55]

It appears that the subah of Lahore was honey-combed with a large number of tombs of little known Muslim saints. The common mass of people resorted to them with their offerings with the hope of achieving their mundane desires. Chiniot, a town on the eastern bank of the Chenab, contained the mausoleum of Shah Burhan, who was a wali of his times and who had thousands of followers.[56] The tomb of Shah Nasiruddin, who had gained some prominence as a faqir, was

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53 Rose, op.cit., pp.566-570. ; Rose, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.435-437.
54 Khulasat., p.73.
55 Rose, op.cit., Vol III, pp.436-437.
56 Khulasat, p.78.

found in the qasba of Jalandhar. People gathered here in large numbers during the summer.[57]

Batala, a town in the upper Bari Doab, contained the mausoleums of a number of Muslim saints -- Shihabuddin Bokhari, Shah Khrab, Shah Ismail, Shah Niamautullah, Shaikh Allahdad, each one of whom was a wali of his times. At a distance of two kos from Batala was situated the tomb of Shah Badruddin, whose descent could be traced to Miran Muhiuddin. At Dipaliwal, a village in the parganah of Kalanaur, placed four kos from Batala, stood the mausoleum of Shah Shamsuddin Dariayi, who had attained great spiritual excellence. A number of miracles have been attributed to him, two of which have been recorded in the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh. His tomb had become a centre of pilgrimage for one and all. Every Friday night, especially which coincided with the new moon, thousands of men and women, reached the place from far and near, and made offerings of cash or kind including milk, rice, wheat, flour, oil and sugar. The devotees made vows in the hope of gaining their desires. The majawari (مجاوری) or management of the shrine was in the hands of the descendants of Dipali, a Hindu disciple of the saint. Although the Muslims tried to oust these hereditary Hindu attendants, they failed on account of, it was believed, the favour in which Dipali was held by his pir. The control of the shrine was still in the hands of Dipali's descendants as late as 1696.[58]

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57 Khulasat, p.66

58 ibid., p.68.

Pir Hassu Teli, who died at Lahore in 1603, appears to have acquired some significance in the socio-religious sphere. Though a Muslim oilman[59] by birth, he was considered to be one of the spiritual descendants of Gorakhnath and also an incarnation of Guru Nanak, However, he has been appropriately styled as a malamatiya, a class os sufis who did not follow the basic observances enjoined by Islam, in order to conceal their spiritual attainments. It was on account of the hetrodox character of his religious attitudes that he became popular among people of diverse creeds, castes and occupations, like the Muslims including Sayyids, Brahmins, Jogis, Zamindars, petty officials, merchants etc. Pir Hassu was reputed for helping his devotees in wordly affairs by working miracles.[60]

The subah of Lahore produced another group of sufis who were known not for the characteristics associated with mysticism, but as poets. They did not seek inspiration from the mystic-cum-literary traditions of western Asia. Instead, they identified themselves completely with their milieu. As a consequence, their poetical compositions turned out to be the expression of the most natural urges of the people of the region. Written in 'pure Punjabi of the western variety' and punctuated with symbols from the countryside, they possessed a rare lyrical quality.[61] The literary output of these mystic poets appears to have taken the form of a movement which exerted a considerable influence on their contemporaries as well the

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59 Ibbetson,D., Punjab Castes, p.324

60 Athar Ali, M., Sidelights into Ideological and Religious Attitudes in the Punjab during the 17th. Century; Medieval India: A Miscellany, Vol.II, pp.187-194.

61 See next page.

subsequent generations. In the following paragraphs an attempt is is being made to analyse the ideas propagated by three representative mystic poets of the period under review.

Shah Husain Lahori (1539-1599), a malamatiya by practice,[62] had deep and unflinching faith in God. He believed that God was supreme in all wordly and spiritual matters, that He was present every where, that He was a veritable ocean of mercy and the sole protector of man, that He ordained all happenings which could not be altered, that man was a mere plaything in His hands, that man should surrender himself completely to His will and that he should never forget Him.[63] Shah Hussain sought to achieve union with God through the medium of love. In his verses, he has referred to God as the (male) beloved and to himself as the (female) lover, who was constantly suffering from the pangs of separation.[64] The poet has expressed his yearning by alluding to the romance of Hir and Ranjha, the famous folk-tale of Punjab.[65] He believed that life and its

61 Talib, G.S., Punjabi, in Majumdar, R.C., The History and Culture and culture of the Indian People, Vol.VII, p.576.

62 Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I, pp.141-146.

63 Bedi, K.S., Shah Husain Lahori, Kafis nos. I, 33, 38, 43, 45, 48, 59, 78, 117, 139, 143, 147.

64 ibid., Kafis nos. 5, 8, 10, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 39, 50, 64, 68, 76, 88, 93, 95, 100, 105, 108, 141, 145, 149.

65 ibid., Kafis nos, 73, 7, 4, 78, 97, 109, 116, 124, 138, 162.

possessions were purely temporary in nature; therefore one should give up pride and take to humility.[66] He has also asserted that man's salvation dpended on his actions and on the superiority of birth.[67] Being a weaver by caste,[68] Shah Husain has made use of the various processes connected with the craft of weaving, in order to convey his spiritual ideas in a symbolic manner. For instance, he held that an unmarried girl (a man who has embarked on the spiritual journey) must spend her time in spinning cotton yarn (doing good deeds), for if she desired to please her husband (God) after marriage (death), she must possess a requisite amount of dowry (an account of good actions).[69] It may be pointed out that, unlike Sultan Bahu and Bulley Shah, the poet has nowhere criticised the observance of Muslim religious rites; he has maintained a studied silence on the issue.

The religious thought of Sultan Bahu (1631-1691), a native of Jhang, can be gleaned from a long siharfi, containing over 180 dohas. A single doha consisted of four tukks (lines), each of which ended in the word Hu -- a characterstic feature of Bahu's poetry.[70]

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66 Bedi, K.S., Shah Husain Lahori, Kafis nos.6,13,15,21,22,28,32, 36,48,53,55,56,62,71,72,75,79,84,8,5,94,101,102,106,119,129,156,

67 ibid.,Kafis nos. 59,140.

عملاں دے اُپر ہوگ نبیڑا کیا صوفی کیا بھنگی

68 ibid., Kafi no.9.

69. ibid., Kafis nos.2,28,30,41,47,52,61,65,80,82,86,115,125,128,142, 146,150,157,

70 Rama Krishna,L., Punjabi Sufi Poets,pp.50-51

the poet has expressed his adherence to the kalima which established the oneness of God as well as the finality of Muhammad's Prophethood.[71] He has often referred to the founder of Islam in a reverential tone.[72] He has repeatedly emphasised the belief in tauhid (oneness of God)[73] and the need to remember Him at all times.[74] But He had to be realised by man from within his own self.[75] The attachment to wordly affairs was a serious impediment in the spiritual growth of man,; it must be divorced at all costs, for din and duniya could not go together.[76] Bahu drew a distinction between ishq (love) and imaan (faith) and held the former to be more important.[77] Ishq was the most exalted feeling which enabled man to achieve his ultimate aim.[78] Bahu has ridiculed the ulama and pandits who took pride in their scholastic attainments,[79] for acquisition of knowledge served no useful purpose

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71 Ujagar Singh, Sultan Bahu, Dohas nos. 129,130,135,136,137,175,180.

72 ibid., Dohas nos.12.20,141.

73 ibid., Dohas nos.41,43,52,84,112,165,166,169.

74 ibid., Dohas nos.38,54,71,96,97.

75 ibid., Dohas nos.4,5,99,183,184.

76 ibid., Dohas nos.7,8,9,10,64,73,159.

77 ibid., Dohas nos.11,75

78 ibid., Dohas nos.46,47,50,51,100, 101-123, 165, 169, 178.

79 ibid., Dohas nos.27-29,59,67,118, 154.

in the process of spiritual advancement.[80] The observance of various religious rights, including the reading of the Quran, were were exercises in futility.[81] The most outstanding feature of Bahu's thought appears to be the emphasis laid on the role of murshid (preceptor) in the spiritual quest of man. The very sight of the murshid has been likened to lakhs and crores of visits to Mecca.[82] Bahu's respectful references to Abdul Qadir Jilani indicates his attachment to the Qadiriyya order.[83]

Bulley Shah (1680-1758), a native of Qasur, has been universally acclaimed as the greatest of all the Punjabi sufi poets.[84] His views on the nature of God and His realisation by man were quite akin to those of Shah Husain.[85] The theme of separation from and longing for the beloved (God) appears frequently in Bulley Shah's verses,[86] and the folk-tale of Hir and Ranjha provided numerous opportunities to the poet to express these ideas.[87] He has also dwelt on the tranistory nature of human life and the need to prepare onself for the 'next world' by doing good deeds.[88] A man of wide sympathies, the poet refused to identify himself with a ny religion,

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80 Ujagar Singh, Sultan Bahu, Dohas nos. , 23,56,68,77,80,161.

81 ibid., Dohas nos.22,39,52,85,88,99,102,157,161,163.

82 ibid., Dohas nos.1,2,13,26,37,41,45,57,86,88,119,120,128,134,135, 146-155,161,163,183.

83 ibid., Dohas nos. 81,92,132.

84 Rama Krishna,op.cit.,p.60; Sharda,S.R.,Sufi Thought p.148

85 Gurdev Singh, Kalam Bulley Shah,pp.89,94,99,103,108,109,122,124, 130,141,162,171,198-200,202,213,214,222,226,229,236,246,247.

86 ibid., pp.73,74,86,89-92,102-107,116-122,124-127,133,136-140,144, 145,147,151,152,158,158,170,177,183,189-191,196,200,202,206,208, 210,215,220,222,224,234,235,243.

87 ibid.,pp.76,131,135,163,169,170,175,195,215-218,220,232.

88 ibid.,pp.128,129,148,154,166178

race or region.[89] He advocated the path of Sulh-i-kul and rose above all sectarian considerations, which plagued the contemporary society. He claimed that he would not hesitate to adopt un-Islamic practices in order to achieve his spiritual aims.[90] The people who had acquired formal education came in for severe condemnation at hands of the poet, who held that they were responsible not only for creating all kinds of disputes and tensions but also for exploiting the illiterate by their knowledge and other hypocritical acts.[91] Since people were engaged in needless controversies over religious matters, Bulley Shah thought it prudent to conceal his own ideas for fear of being killed.[92] Nevertheless, he emerged as a vehement and outspoken critic of the religious rites observed by the Muslims; he did not even spare the kalima.[93] The poet has, time and again, acknowledged his debt of gratitude to his murshid, Shah Inayat Qadiri, for various acts of kindness.[94]

The subah of Lahore offered ample opportunities to the people for acquiring education, which possessed a distinct theological bias.[95] The system produced, besides scholars, teachers, authors and mystics, suitable recruits for the posts which required the knowledge of the Muslim law or the Persian language. People engaged in teaching or other intellectual pursuits did so only at the individual level, though they received financial assistance from the state in certain cases. However, to say that Punjab being the

89 Gurdev Singh, Kalam Bulley Shah, 136,139.

90. ibid., 156,157,176,177,182,209,213,219,221,227,231,245,249.

91 ibid., pp.184-186

92 ibid., pp.213-215,219.

93 ibid., pp.76,97,100,132,134,156,163,171,182,183,186,207,223,225.

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frointer province received greater share of royal patronage for education or that the Mughals founded a good many schools and colleges and gave adequate endowments for their upkeep,[96] is over-simplification. A realistic picture of the intellectual climate can be drawn only after the perusal of the following facts.

Mullah Abdullah Sultanpuri (d.1582) was a native of Sultanpur, a town in the Bet Jalandhar Doab.. An erudite scholar of Arabic and fiqh (Muslim jurisprudence), he held important ecclesiastical posts under both, the Surs and the Mughals. He wrote a book entitled Ismat-i-Anbiya and a commentary on Shmail-ul-Nabi (a biography of the Prophet).[97] His pupils included Qazi Sadruddin of Jalandhar (afterwards of Lahore) and Maulana Allahdad of Sultanpur, who rose to be the sadr of the subah of Lahore.[98]

Shaikh Ishaq Kaku (d.1588), a sufi by persuasion, was a profoundly learned man and possessed knowledge of all branches of learning. He was constantly engaged in teaching and produced a number of eminent scholars in Lahore including Shaikh Sàadullah, who had no rival in scholarship during his times.[99]

Shaikh Saadullah Bani Israil was a pupil of Shaikh Ishaq Kaku. He originally belonged to the caste of the kayasths, who served

94 Gurdev Singh, Kalam Bulley Shah, pp. 73,76,84,93,94,103,104,126 131,133,144,145,147,176,177,186,191,196,202,215,225,245.

95 Yusuf Husain, Medieval Indian Culture, p.59.

96 Nijjar,B.S.,Punjab under the Great Mughals,pp.158,216-

97 Rizvi,S.A.A.,Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign, p.71.

98 Badauni,III,pp.84,85,117.

99 ibid., pp.51-52.

as scribes and accountants at all levels of the Mughal administration. Though he lived the life of a libertine, he was regarded as a saint by the people. Later on, he repented and took to the austere path of religion. He wrote a number of useful books including a commentary on Ghazzali's Jawahar-ul-Quran. Badauni found him to be an impressive conversationalist. Though he did not receive any allowance from the government, he spent lavishly on charities. When he died at the age of eighty, thousands of people, high and low, joined the funeral procession, each vieing with the other to carry the bier on his shoulders.[100]

Maulana Jalal belonged to Tala, a famous locality of Lahore. He studied under Shaikh Ismail of Uch and other teachers. He acquired a vast knowledge in traditional and rational sciences. Besides, he was an expert engraver of precious stones. But he distinguished himself in teaching, a profession he adopted, it was believed, at the age of eight. He delivered his lectures in an unambiguous manner so that his pupils could easily understand the knotty aspects of traditional and speculative subjects. He corrected and arranged a work on Quranic exegesis (tafsir), written by Faizi.[101]

Shaikh Mansur of Lahore, a disciple of Shaikh Ishaq Kaku, received his education from Maulana Sàadullah. He became proficient in all such philosophical learning as was usually studied in the country. He entered the imperial service and was employed in the administration of the parganah of Bajwara, in the Bet Jalandhar Doab.

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100 Badauni, III, pp.53-54.

101 Ibid., p.105

His son, Mulla Alauddin, grew up to be one of the most learned men of the age. At one time, he was one of the companions of the Khan-i-Khanan, who held him in great regard and honour. Declining the offer of military service, he devoted himself to teaching. He wrote marginal notes to Shara Aqaid. He would distribute the income from his jagir to the students whom he taught.[102]

Maulana Allahdad Langarkhani, who belonged to a quarter of Lahore, was a profound scholar, well-versed in the curriculum that was in vogue during his days. His personal life was marked by abstinence and piety. Though he was engaged in teaching, he never sought financial aid from the rich nor accepted the subsistence allowance usually given to religious teachers.[103]

Sometimes, government officials, too, were engaged in intellectual, literary and educational pursuits. Shaikh Muin (d.1587) the qazi of Lahore, spent his subsistence allowance to pay the scribes whom he had employed to copy a variety of useful books. He used to collate the copies himself. After getting them bound, he would distribute them to his students. This was the principal occupation throughout his life, during which he distributed thousands of volumes to the people.[104] He was succeeded as the qazi of Lahore by Nurullah of Shustar. A Shia by faith, he was known for his learning and acumen. He was the author of several good books, including a praise-worthy monograph on Faizi's undotted commentary (Sawati-ul-Ilham).[105] Maulana Muhammad, employed as a mufti, was one of the most

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102 Badauni, III, pp.155,156.
103 ibid., p.154.
104 ibid., p.96
105 ibid., p.137.

respected teachers of Lahore. His assembly was the meeting place of the learned men of the city. On each occasion he completed the perusal of the Sahih-ul-Bokhari or the Mishkat, he entertained people to a lavish banquet, where bughra-khanis and other sweetmeats were served. He had five sons, all of whom turned out to be worthy successors of their father, so far as education and learning were concerned.[106]

Mulla Muhammad Fazil was born at Badakhshan and received his initial education in that country. After coming to Lahore, he acquired advanced knowledge of Arabic from Mulla Jamal Lahori. During Jahangir's reign he was appointed qazi-i-lashkar a post which he held for eight years during the regime of Shahjahan. Thereafter, he settled as a teacher at Lahore and lived on cash and jagir from the government.[107]

Another pupil of Mulla Jamal Lahori was Mulla Yusuf Lahori. The latter covered the stages of sufism and acquired proficiency in religious and secular branches of knowledge under the guidance of his preceptor. He imparted education for a period of fifty years.[108]

Maulana Muhammad Yaqub Lahori possessed an expert's knowledge of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), hadis (traditions) tafsir (Quranic exegesis), mantiq (logic), kalam (dialectics),

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106 Badauni,III,p.154.
107 Lahori, I(ii),p.340.
108 ibid., p.342

hindsa (geometry) and heyat (astronomy). As a scholar, he stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries. As a teacher, he could resolve, by his acumen, the most intricate problems confronted by his students. In short, he brought laurels to the whole of Punjab by his learning and erudition.[109]

Mulla Abdul Salam Devi, after having acquired the knowledge of Arabic, received advanced education from Mulla Abdul Salam Lahori. The latter specialised in traditional and rational sciences, in particular, tafsir and fiqh ; he taught for a period of sixty years till his death in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb. Mulla Abdul Devi also took up the profession of teaching. He taught what he knew and learnt what he did not. He joined imperial service and served in the army for some time. At the advice of Shajahan and on account of old age, he retired from service and engaged himself in teaching.[110]

In 1563, Mulla Kamal Kashmiri, being alienated from Husain Khan, the governor of Kashmir, left that province and established himself at Sialkot, an important town in the upper Rachna Doab, and started giving lessons. One of his most outstanding pupils was Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, who acquired such proficiency in various branches of knowledge that he could be considered an equal of Bu Ali Sina and Abu Nasr Farabi. He wrote marginal notes on numerous books explaining difficult passages and subtle points. For sixty years

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109 Kambo, III, p.392.

110 Lahori, I(ii), p.342 ; Kambo, III, p.390

he taught students, who flocked to him not only from various parts of the country but also from foreign lands. The scholarly world, too, benefitted from his scholastic attainments.[111] He did not receive any financial aid from the state during the reign of Jahangir. But Shahjahan granted him ten villages as suyurghal. Besides, he received a considerable amount of cash whenever he visited the court.[112] In 1642, the emperor got him weighed in silver.[113] He died in 1657.

The tradition set up by Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, was ably continued by his son, Mulla Abdullah,[114] who was endowed with internal and external qualities. Since he guided the people on the path of righteousness and truth, he was called the imam of the age.[115] A prince among scholars, he was strongly inclined towards faqr (piety). He combined in himself secular learning with spiritual knowledge. Aurangzeb carried a high opinion about him; and wrote a letter in his own hand to the Mulla offering him the office of the sadr. The later excused himself on the ground that he did not wish to acquire wordly fame. However, he called on the emperor at Ajmer, when he paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Muinddin Chisti. Following his

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111 Khulasat p.73 ; Kambo, III pp.382-383.

112 Lahori, I(ii),p.340.

113 Kambo,II,p.372.

114 It has been asserted that the Sialkot school specialized in grammar,; see Yusu Husain, Medieval Indian Culture, p.76

115 Khulasat,p.73 ; Kambo, pp.383-84, Vol.III; Char Bagh-i-Punjab,p.227.

death in 1683, the emperor favoured his four sons and widow with robes and increased stipend.[116]

It appears that the facilities of medical education also existed in the subah of Lahore. Hakim Alimuddin, popularly known as Wazir Khan, studied the books of medicine under the guidance of Hakim Davi. He gained such mastery over the subject that he could diagnose all kinds of ailments and treat them with success. He distinguished himself as the personal physician of Shahjahan and this became the cause of his promotion in the imperial service. Even during the reign of Jahangir, he held the offices of diwan-i-bayutat, Khan-i-saman and diwan. On the accession of Shahjahan, he was granted the mansab of 5000 zat 5000 sawar as well as the governorship of the subah of Lahore.[117]

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, an attempt was made to introduce a new religion at Lahore. Though the move failed, without leaving a legacy whatsoever, it might not be entirely fruitless to refer breifly to its genesis, philosophy and rituals. This would provide us with an insight into one of the little-known aspects of the socio-religious conditions prevailing in the subah of Lahore. It may be pointed out that Ghulam Husain Khan was the only historian to have taken notice of it.

Mir Muhammad Husain, a descendant of Rizvi Sayyids of the Iranian city of Mashhad, migrated to Kabul. Since he possessed an

116 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.229.

117 Lahori, I(ii), p.347 ; Kambo, III, p.395.

adequate knowledge of Arabic, logic and other theological subjects, he gained some prominence. He found no difficulty in marrying the adopted daughter of the governor of Kabul, Amir Khan. Having gained an entry into the political circles of Kabul, he secured the post of the superintendent of the royal perfumery (daroqha khushbu khana). Soon, he won a number of admirers by virtue of his noble descent, learning, office and wealth. The death of Amir Khan, however, proved a turning point in his life. Armed with a stock of rose-essence of Peshawar and other perfumes, he left Kabul for the imperial capital in order to win Auranzeb's favour. But the news of the emperor's death terminated his journey at Lahore. He sold his merchandise at a price of sixty or seventy thousand rupees, an amount which he considered sufficient for the remainder of his life. Thus absolved of any struggle to earn his livelihood, he engaged himself in introducing a new religion to the people of the subah of Lahore, besides earning glory for himself.

At the outset, the Sayyid invented a new language, in order to receive revelations from heaven. Secondly, he brought out a treatise on religion called the Holy Aquza (آقوزه مقدس) which was replete with obscure phrases and unknown words from ancient Persian and Arabic. Thirdly, he styled himself as the Biquk(بیگوک) biqukiat being a position intermediate between prophethood(نبوت) and po ntificate (امامت). He asserted that all prophets were followed by nine biquks, that the first eight of Prophet Muhammad had been the eight, imams from Ali Bin Abu Talib to Imam Raza,

and that imamat and biqukiat were merged in each one of them. However, the two offices were subsequently separated and the Sayyid himself was the ninth and the last biquk, divinely ordained to proclaim a new creed. Fourthly, he designed a number of strange rituals to be followed by his followers called farboods (فربود), each one of whom was given a nishan instead of his name.

The new system of religious beliefs and practices failed to flourish ; it did not even take root. Mir Muhammad Husain quietly slipped out of Lahore and established himself at Delhi.[118] The failure of the new creed to make itself a integral part of socio-religious landscape of the city, needs to be explained. The Muslim population of the metropolis was predominantly composed of zealous and ardent Sunnis, who would not accept any deviation from or innovation in their traditional form of worship. In fact, this kind of an attitude on the part of the Muslims of Lahore, was exhibited on more than one occasion.[119] It may be noted that the mission of Mir Muhammad Husain was met with more success in Delhi, where his religious assemblies were attended by more than 20,000 followers at a time.[120]

From the preceding pages, it becomes evident that the Muslims made an immense contribution to the socio-religious developments in the subah of Lahore. A large number of scholars and teachers were

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118 Siyar, II, pp. 445-447.

119 Refer to the chapter : Social Tensions.

120 Siyar, II, p. 448.

engaged in writing books or in teaching theological subjects to students, who graduated to take up official assignments or busied themselves in imparting education. There were others like Miyan Mir who adopted the hazardous path of mysticism which, though lofty and sublime in itself, had nothing to offer to the common man.[121] Religion at the popular level consisted of paying visits to the establishments (or tombs) of numerous saints who propagated heterodox religious practices or who had acquired notriety for working miracles. Though they could boast of little spiritual training, they provided a common meeting ground for people belonging to diverse creeds and sects. Similarly, the mystic poets, who wrote in Punjabi, appear to have played an entirely secular role in a society, which otherwise suffered frequently from sectarian disputes.

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121 It is strange that Sujan Rai Bhandari, who has referred to numerous little-known and obscure religious cults and personages, failed to take note of Miyan Mir and his disciples.

Chapter IX

SOCIO - RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS : NON - MUSLIMS

Besides being a characteristic example of primitive and unorganised polytheisms, Hinduism never prepared a body of canonical scriptures or a common prayer book, never established a single centre of religious life, never held a general council or convocation, never defined the relation of the laity and clergy, never regulated the canonization of saints or their worship, and never prescribed a course of training for its priests.[1] As a consequence, the practice of the Hindu religion assumed diverse forms in a particular region, at a given point of time. This phenomenon was clearly witnessed in the Mughal subah of Lahore, as in other parts of the empire.

The popularization of Shaivism involved a process of syncretism by which a number of local dieties were adopted as manifestations of Lord Shiva. One of them was Kartik,[2] the son of Mahadev (Shiva), who was commemorated at Achal, situated two kos from Batala. A place of great antiquity, it possessed a tank, whose water was considered as sweet as that of the heavenly Qausar. In the beginning of or the middle of (the sun's journey in) the Libra, which is the time of the equinox, thousands of mendicants and

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1 Hastings, J., (Ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.VI, p.712.

2 ibid., p.701.

recluses reached here. All classes of people - high and low, male and female - assmebled here to participate in a six-day festival. The vast sea of humanity was spread around for miles. Many of them sought to gratify their desires by visting the saintly personages. The people, who were sick, acquired the relief of health by the blessings of the holy men. The pilgrims availed themselves of the opportunity of deriving spiritual nourishment as well the pleasures of entertainment.

Pleasure seekers satisfied themselves by beholding fairy-like beauties or by eating the dainty dishes of their choice. Temporary stalls were put up on both sides of the road, passing through the site. They were stocked with numerous delicious eatables as well as fruit of all seasons. In one place, performances of music and dance were staged, while clever jesters and eloquent story-tellers delighted the spectators, af another. Muscular and athletic wrestlers performed the feats of Rustam and Isfandiar. Jugglers and acrobats displayed extra-ordinary skills. Artists depicted such paintings showing scenes of battles and banquets, gardens and lakes, that the beholder was held spell-bound. Men and women were found buying arms, implements, garments, toys etc. as the noise created by the drum, the tambourine, the cymbal and the lute became deafening and the din and bustle of the crowd raised the dust to the sky. Experienced and well-informed travellers declared that they had not come across such a fair anywhere. People

of Batala - even if they were present a hundres kos away from their homes and in enjoyment of all comfort and wealth - invariably wished to be present at the celebrations.[3]

The philosophical justification for Shaktism or the worship of the active female principle (prakriti) as manifested in one or the other of the various forms of the consort of Shiva, lay in the Sankhya doctrine of union of the soul of the universe (purusha) with the primordial essence (prakriti).[4] The cult was prevalent all over the subah of lahore, in particular the hilly and submontainous tracts. The shrine most sacred to the goddess (Bhawani (one of the numerous names of Devi, the consort of Shiva) was located at the foot of the famous fort of Nagarkot. Its origin was traced to a legend according to which Uma, the spouse of Shiva, was not invited to a great sacrifice offered by her father, Daksha. Stung by the humiliation, she gave up her life in a trance. Shiva, who was greatly attached to her, picked up her corpse in his trident and carried it off. However, portions of it fell on the different parts of the country,[5] the remnant that kept its place was celebrated as Jalandhari, which was reckoned to be this place.[6] According to another version, the portion that fell

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3 Khulasat, pp.70-71.

4 Hastings, op.cit., p.705.

5 Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the N.W.F.P., Vol.I, p.327.

6 Ain, II, (Tr.), pp.317-318.

at this place was breast, which was regarded purer than the rest of the body; the spot became more sanctified than the others.[7] The legend highlighted one of the many attributes of the Devi i.e. self-sacrifice.

Twice a year, on the eighth of the months of Kartika and Chaitra, large number of pilgrims visited the shrine. Badauni, who visited the sanctuary in 1589, wrote that lakhs and crores of men brought, at fixed periods, hordes of ass-loads of gold and silver coins and other precious things, besides huge quantities of various stuffs and merchandise, as offerings.[8] Some of the pilgrims in order to fulfill their desires, cut out their tongues and offered it to the diety. As a result of some miracle, the tongue was restored in a few hours or, in certain cases, in two or three days. Surprisingly, some of the devotees even severed their heads off their trunks; when their companions placed the heads on their necks, it was believed, the lives of the headless devotees were revived.

About two kos from Nagarkot was situated the hill of Jawalamukhi, where flames issued continuously from the heart of the earth, over which stood a domed temple. The pilgrims cast various articles into the fire with the expectation of obtaining temporal bliss.[9] As the things were reduced to ashes, they felt their

7 Iqbalnama, p.190 ; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, ,p.343.

8 Badauni, II.p.162; Haft Iqlim, II, p. 456.

9 Khulasat., pp.71-72 ; Foster, W., (Ed.), Early Travels in India, p.180.

offerings had been accepted. The fire could be attributed to the presence of a mine of sulphur whose heat caused a perpetual emission of flames ; people who had gone astray in the matters of religion believed, as asserted by contemporary Muslims, that the whole phenomenon was a miracle of the idol.[10] Abul Fazl has remarked that the vulgar imputed to miraculous agency what was simply the effect of a mine of brimstone.[11]

A shrine dedicated to Mahadev (Shiva) was found in Purmandal, a village in the district of Jammu, situated at a distance of fiteen kos from Sialkot. On the eve of Baisakhi, when the sun entered the sign of Virgo, a large number of people gathered from all directions. Many rajas of the hill country also reached in all pomp and grandeur. They displayed their proficiency in the art of archery. A rare spectacle was witnessed.[12]

Another place held sacred by the Hindus was Khatachha, situated near Makhiala and within the confines of the Sind Sagar Doab. It boasted of an ancient tank, whose depth was not known to any one. On auspicious days, such as the time of the entry of the Sun into the Aries and certain other occasions, numerous groups of Hindus assembled here for ceremonial ablutions. They believed that the earth had two eyes, the lake of Pushkar, near Ajmer, was the right one and this particular tank was the left one.[13]

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10 Iqbalnama, p.189 ; Massir-i-Jahangiri, p.343.

11 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.319.

12 Khulasat, p.73.

13 ibid., p. 75.

Another aspect of Hinduism, as it was practised in the subah of Lahore, was constituted by asceticism and monastic organisation. The former was characterized by renunciation, celibacy, austerity, mediation and esstasy. When two or more ascetics decided to live together, in an endeavour to create these conditions, a monastic organisation was born.[14] It appears that the urge for ascetic - life was present to a fair extent among the Hindus of the region, though they followed different paths to achieve their spiritual ideals. Sujan Rai has classified the various ascetic sects as sanyasis, jogis, bairagis, udasis, jatis and sirovaras.[15]

The most important of such monastic centres in the subah was located at Tilla Balnath, seven kos distant from the fort of Rohtas. It was perched on a four-kos high and steep hillock in the Salt Range, which was difficult of ascent and could not be approached on horse-back. The crest, however, was a level space, on which were built a number of small dwellings. It was believed that Balnath, the founder of the sect, lived here as a hermit with his sister, sometime during the thirteenth century. Since it was held that he often appeared at various places under various forms, as a proof of which he fixed strips of cloth on tree-tops etc., he was held in universal reverence even in the sixteenth century.

The jogis who lived at the establishment followed a well-devised way of life as well as a set of elaborate rituals.[16] Before the novices were admitted to full membership of the order, they had

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14 Ghurye, G.S., Indian Sadhus pp.I,17. 15 Khulasat, pp.22-24.
16 For the system followed by the jogis, see, Dabistan, pp.177-179.

to act servants to about three hundred of those who already enjoyed that position. Their duties included helping the cook, cutting the wood, fetching the water and pasturing the flocks and herds. At the end of a two-year period of probation, during which they had to service with devotion and diligence, they were admitted as full members. But before they were invested with the new garments, they had to promise to keep themselves pure and chaste for ever, while doing nothing in contravention of the rules of their order. Thereafter, they were at liberty to go anywhere they liked and live by begging.

The establishment at the Tilla was presided over by a high-priest, who once raised to that status could never leave the hill. Several senior members acted as his counsellors, and elected a new leader when he died. The high priest was distinguished from his companions by a fillet, around which were hung loosely wrapped bands of silk that moved to and fro.

One of their regularly followed ritual was to turn towards the east at dawn and greet the rising sun with the concerted sound of flutes and conches. The practice was repeated in the evening, with the difference that the faces were turned to the west. Though Balnath laid no restrictions upon his followers with regard to food or human society, their mode of living was exceedingly frugal. They only cooked lentils and ghee, and they expressed gratitude to God every time they took food. The garments worn by them included a cloak, a turban and a long dress coming down to the feet. All of

them were dyed with a kind of red chalk, so that they looked as if it painted red.

The above-mentioned jogis were divided into two orders, the married ones and the celibates. The former wore a slightly shorter dress. The latter were distinguished by their insistence on chastity and their duty of teaching. They made divine utterances obstensibly from Balnath.[17] On certain fixed days, particularly Shivratri, which was connected with Lord Mahadeva, countless people including thousands of jogis, gathered here to offer prayers.[18]

Another monastic centre of the Shaiva jogis was found at Jakhbar, in the north-western part of the Bari Doab. It has been referred to as the principal seat of Ganganathis, one of the twelve sub-sects of the Kanphata (split-eared) jogis.[19] Besides the rooms meant for the residence of the jogi-in-chief, disciples and pilgrims, the establishment contained little temples dedicated to Shiva, the Devi and Bhairava. In one of the shrines, burnt the dhuni, the constant smouldering fire, a necessary possession of every dera associated with the jogis. The presence of the samadhis of the former 'mahants' (which were workshipped every day) so close to the living quarters realized partly the jogi-ideal of living in a cremation ground. Besides wearing large rings(mudras)

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17 Monserrate, pp.113-116

18 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.319 ; Khulast, p.75.

19 Dwivedi, H.P., Nath Sampradaya, pp.12, 13.

in their ears, they carried such symbols of their faith as the seli (a string of black woollen thread and a bead), the nad (a whistle made of horn) and the rudraksha mala (a rosary made of the fruit of elaecarpus ganitrus). The inmates of the dera did not marry. They buried their dead. The chief mahant was succeeded by a spiritual and not a natural heir. They also practised a kind of medicine.[20] Besides, incredible miraculous powers have been attributed to them. The dera was held in great reverence by the local people who visited it in thousands. The Mughals as well as the hill chiefs sought to secure the goodwill of the jogis of Jakhbar, by making revenue free grants to them which spread over a considerable area 'from Jwalamukhi in the Kangra district to Parol in Jammu'.[21]

There are certain ascetics who did not align themselves with any monastic order, but possessed lofty spiritual ideals and even had followers among the people. Mehar Chand, who belonged to the caste of the goldsmiths of Gujrat (a town in the Chenhat Doab), was a disciple of Akam Nath Jogi. The latter always remained in a state of meditation (riyazat) and was said to have achieved an age of over ten thousand years. Once he met Jahangir, who asked him his name. Akam Nath answered "All existing things are my organs". (تمام موجودات اعضا منند). Later, a book was being read in the emperor's majlis. The emperor asked the jogi to read it

20 Goswamy, B.N., and Grewal, J.S., The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,

21 ibid., p.1-17.

for that was his (jogi's) work (guftar). The jogi, however, asked the reader to continue, saying, "Since all the people in the world are my organs, I am myself reading through the tongue of the reader".[22]

Most of the Jogis appear to have come into prominence on account of their esoteric practices. In 1638, a man named Sanja Nath was seen at Lahore, who had become proficent in controlling his breath; he was said to have achieved an age of 700 years, though his hair had not turned grey. Suraj Nath, also of Lahore, had acquired a similar reputation. Kalyan Bharati, who was seen (1643) at Kiratpur in the hills of Punjab, could swallow lamp-oil and then milk ; he could vomit them out in such a manner that they retained their specific colours, i.e. they did not mix up.[23]

The great wave of Vaishnavism - the emotional and passionate devotion to Vishnu and his principal in-carnates[24] - which swept the length and breadth of northern India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[25] did not fail to have its impact in the subah of Lahore. Krishna Das Payahari, a bairagi who belonged to the order of the famous Vaishnava saint, Ramanand, exerted himself to propagate the creed in the hills of Punjab, where

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22 Dabistan, p.176.

23 ibid., pp.183,186.

24 ibid., pp.198,200.

25 Majumdar,B.B,Hindu Religion, in Majumdar,R.C.,(Ed.), History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.VII,p.647.

Shaivism or Shaktism reigned supreme. With this end in view, he chose Bhagwanji (d.1622), a native of Kahnuwan, who established the gaddi of Pindori, seven miles east of the town of Gurdaspur in the upper Bari Doab.[26] The establishment which has survived to the present times, has been regarded as one of the fifty two Vaishnava dwaras into which the bairagi centres were organised.

As a result of the intense missionary activity, the Pindori gaddi not only secured the allegiance of the ruling houses of Nurpur, Guler, Chamba, Jaswan, Mankot, Bandralta and Jammu, but also spread its branches 'from Jammu in the north to Chinapattan in the south, Girnar in the west and Ajodhya in the east'. Besides their attachment to music, the Vaishnava ascetics were known for their miraculous feats.[27] It has been suggested that the ascetic who was tested by Jahangir by administering seven cups of poison,[28] was none other than Bhagwanji's disciple, Narainji; it was then that the emperor conferred a substantial grant to the gaddi which was continued under subsequent rulers.[29] The offerings of land received by the establishment from ordinary proprietors as well as the hill

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26 Ghurye, op.cit.,p.188.

27 Goswamy,B.N., and Grewal,J.S., The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, pp.1-21.

28 Tuzuk,II,p.227.

29 D.G.Gurdaspur,(1891-92),p.22 ; Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.I,p.393.

chiefs, were exempted from land revenue by the Mughals.[30]

The village of Dhianpur, bear Batala, served as the headquarter of Baba Lal, who belonged to the order of Kabir.[31] The eloquence of this 'knower of God', like the waves of the ocean, raised pearls of wisdom and truth. He claimed the allegiance of countless disciples, who constantly recited his couplets, which were steeped in the knowledge of God. Baba Lal believed that every religion possessed its own saints and gnostics, through whose grace their followers achieved salvation.[32] Therefore, he has been hailed as one of those reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, who like Kabir, Dadu and Akbar, sought to establish a purely monotheistic religion, combining elements drawn from sufism as well as the bhakti marg.[33]

Dara Shikoh, a keen student of comparative religion, held Baba Lal in high esteem. The latter gave the following advice to the prince, "Be not a shaikh, be not a saint, be not a wielder of miracles, be rather a faqir, unpretencious and sincere."[34] As many as seven dialogues took place between the two. The themes covered in the discussions were -- characteristics of ascetic life,

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30 Goswamy and Grewal, op.cit.

31 Hasrat, B.J., Dara Shikuh : Life and Works, p.242.

32 Dara Shikoh, Hasnat-ul-Arifin, f.15 b.

33 Hastings, J., (Ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.II, p.308.

34 Hasrat, op.cit, p.243.

aspects of Hindu mythology, relations between the Creator(khaliq) and the created (makhluq), on burial and cremation of the dead, idol workship among the Hindus, Paramatman (divine soul) and jivatman (human soul), on salvation and transmigration. These discussions have been recorded for posterity by Dara'Shikoh's Munshi, Chandra Bhan Brahmin.[35]

There were certain ascetics who did not follow the practices traditionally associated with Hinduism. Pratab Mal, who belonged to the Chadha sub-caste of the Khatris, was born in Sialkot. He was regarded as a Sahib-i-kamal among the arifs (gnostics). He was not imprisoned in the narrow confines of any religious system, but believed that all religions were merely different paths leading to the same God. There was an idol in the house of Pratab Mal, which was worshipped by the Hindus. Once the idol was damaged by a rat ; Pratab Mal removed it and placed it at the mouth of the rat's hole. When people objected to this, he remarked, "How can the thakur,which failed to protect itself from a mere rat, defend me from the mischief of the Muslims." Again, there was a Shiv-ling in Pratab Mal's house, which was reverred by the Hindus. But, then, he removed it and fixed it in the ground like a peg, and tied his dog with it.[36]

A similar instance was provided by Pirana, bairagi, who belonged to the Kohli sub-caste of the Khatris. Having left

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35 Chandra Bhan Brahmin, Mukalama Baba Lal-o-Dara Shikoh, ; Khulasat, p.69.

36 Dabistan, pp.174-175.

Gujrat, his place of birth, he had settled at Wazirabad. Pirana had severed all worldly connections. He strongly disapproved of riyazat (spiritual exercises), for it forced people into unnecessary difficulties. He believed that any prayer which contained even a little of pain was nothing but actual punishment. Therefore, he expressed himself against such ascetic-practices as fasting, celibacy etc.[37]

It would be interesting to note that two Muslims, Mirza Saleh and Mirza Haidar were designated as Vaishnava bairagis. It has been suggested that the Muslims worshipped Bishan (Vishnu), because it meant the samething as Bismillah.[38] Another bairagi, Mian Lal who was a native of Gujrat (Chenhat Doab) appears to have been a Muslim. Besides being a strict vegetarian, he was reputed for his miraculous powers.[39]

The evolution of Sikhism can be traced to the unsatisfactory socio-religious conditions prevailing in the subah of Lahore during the pre-Mughal period. At the popular level, the practice of religion, both Hinduism and Islam, involved the observance of a variety of meaningless rituals, the accpetance of arbitrary social distinctions based on caste or race, and the existence of numerous

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37 Dabistan, pp, 204.

38 ibid., pp.200, 203 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab, p.281.

39 Dabistan, p.204 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab, p.180

sects within the two major communities.[40] These circumstances became the breeding ground for a movement of protest against the contemporary socio-religious system. It was led by Guru Nanak (1469-1539), a Khatri of the Bedi sub-caste, who was born in Talwandi Rai Bhoe, village forty miles south-west of Lahore.[41]

To Nanak, God was one, formless, eternal and unknowable; He was omnipresent, all-knowing and bounteous, besides being the sole creator, sustainer and destroyer.[42] All occurrences in the universe were subject to His <u>hukam</u>, which implied the existence of the element of harmony in a divinely ordained system.[43] Since man was infected with <u>haumai</u> (pride),[44] he was absorbed in <u>maya</u> (false belief) and entangled in the transmigratory cycle of births and deaths.[45] Salvation from this miserable plight lay in attaching oneself to <u>nam</u> (God's name).[46] But this had to be done through the mediation of the guru (spiritual preceptor),[47] which was none other than the voice of God, heard in the innermost depths of the individual.[48] The spiritual journey took him to through five stages -

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40 Bhai Gurdas, Vaar I, Pauris 19-22.

41 Banerjee, A.C., <u>Guru Nanak and His Times</u>, p.113.

42 <u>Adi Granth</u>, pp.1,2.

43 <u>ibid</u>., pp.150,151,636.

44 <u>ibid.</u>, p.466.

45 <u>ibid.</u>, p.108.

46. <u>ibid</u>., p.1127.

47. <u>ibid.</u>, p.149.

48 Mcleod, W.H., <u>Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion</u>, p.199.

dharam khand, gian khand, saram kahd, karam khand and sach khand.[49] After reaching the last stage, a condition of supreme bliss, the individual achieved his ultimate goal - freedom from the trans-migratory process, coupled with the union of human soul with divine soul.[50]

Guru Nanak exposed the hypocrisy of the Brahmins and the ulama. He questioned the merit of the existing religious texts and declared the futility of idol-worship, pilgrimages etc.[51] He expressed himself strongly against the path of asceticism followed by the jogis, sanyasis and siddhas.[52] He denounced the age-old institution of caste; he did not believe that the birth in a so-called low caste was an impediment in the way of spiritual advance-ment.[53]

The nomination of Angad, a disciplie of Nanak, as the spiritual successor of the latter was a measure of far-reaching consequences.[54] For, the step became a precedent, followed faith-fully by each of the successive incumbents in the guru's office. The phenomenon has been referred to as the kindling of one flame by another, signifying that it was the same spirit which prevaded each of the gurus.[55] The institution of guruship not only ensured

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49 Adi Granth, pp.7,8.
50 Mcleod, op.cit., pp.221-226.
51 Adi Granth, pp.635,637,686,687.
52 ibid.,pp.139,1245 ; Bhai Gurdas, Vaar 24,Pauri 19.
53 Adi Granth, pp.83,91,349,504 ; Bhai Gurdas, Vaar I, Pauri 23.
54 Narang, G.C., Transformation of Sikhism, p.28.
55 Bhai Gurdas, Vaar I, Pauri 45 ; Vaar 24, Pauris 5-8.

the preservation of Nanak's work but also paved the way for its growth and evolution. The contribution of each of the nine gurus to this development, as expressed in the form of certain new ideas and institutions, was conditioned by his own inclinations as well as the circumstances in which he was placed.

Following the foot steps of Nanak, his successors produced a large number of verses, which touched upon a variety of socio-religious themes. Arjun Dev, the fifth guru, acquired the bani of his predecessors and added to it his own considerable contribution alongwith the verses of many Hindu and Muslim saints, and brought it out (1604) in the form of a book, called Adi Granth.[56] Significantly, it was written in the sant-bhasha and not Sanskrit;[57] the script used was Gurumukhi and not Devanagari. In its language, form and content, Adi Granth marked a significant break from the traditional religious texts.

Though Nanak had declared pilgrimages to holy places as unnecessary, his successors, for reasons which are not clear, did not adhere to this injunction. Amar Das, the third Guru (guruship 1552 to 1574), founded the first religious place for the Sikhs, when a baoli or well with eighty four steps was constructed at Goindwal. It was declared that whoever would recite the Japuji at every step and bathe as many times, would secure his salvation

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56 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, pp.393-396; Bhai Gurdas, Vaar 24, Pauri 19.

57 Kohli, S.S., A Critical Study of the Adi Granth, pp.47-50.

from the cycle of births and deaths.[58] The precedent was followed by the fourth guru, Ram Das (guruship 1574-1581), who laid the foundation of a tank at Chak Ramdas, which later developed into the town of Amritsar.[59] However, it was Arjun Dev (guruship 1581 - 1606) who pushed through with vigour the programme of building religious places. He undertook the completion of the tank at Chak Ramdas, and in the midst of it raised a temple called Harimandir, which became the Kaaba of the Sikhs. Not far from it was built another tank, Santokhsar. This was followed up by religious centres at Tarn Taran (11 miles south of Amritsar), Kartarpur (Bet Jalandhar Doab) and Hargobindpur (on the bank of the Beas). A baoli, too was constructed at Lahore.[60]

The writing of devotional poetry and founding of religious places was accompanied by the introduction of certain new institutions, which went a long way in strengthening the new socio-religious order. One of the earliest among them was langar or community kitchen. Though it had originated in the times of Nanak,[61] it was continued and expanded under the supervision of his successors. Run on the voluntary offerings of the devotees, it was intended to demolish the caste-imposed tyranny and emphasize

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58 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I, p.335 ; Panth Prakash,p.93.

59 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I,pp.343-344.

60 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I,pp.375-388. Panth Prakash,pp.109-113.

61 Banerjee, I.B.., Evolution of the Khalsa,Vol.I,pp.158-159 ; Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs.,Vol.I,p.43.

the universal brotherhood of man. Another step in the same direction was the sadh-sangat or the congregation of the pious which was presided over by the guru. It was at these meetings that hymns from Adi Granth were sung to the accompaniment of music.[62] It has been asserted that the sadh-sangat enabled four four castes to merge into one,[63] and that it was verily the sach-khand itself.[64]

The periodic tours undertaken by the gurus, particularly in the villages of the Bari Doab, resulted in an increase in the number of the new adherents. The task of preaching could not be carried out by an individual. To obviate the difficulty, Amar Das the third Guru, instituted the manji system. It involved the division of the spiritual empire of the Sikhs into twenty-two ecclesiastical districts, each of which was placed under the charge of a preacher.[65] With the passage of time, the functions of these bishops underwent a change. When the financial needs of the community increased owing to the construction of numerous religious centres, the holders of the manjis were assigned the additional task of collecting the offerings of the Sikhs.[66] Then, they began

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62 Khulasat, p.70.

63 Bhai Gurdas, Vaar 18, Pauri 14 ; Vaar 23, Pauri 19 ;, Vaar 35, Pauri 18.

64 ibid., Vaar 16, Pauri 12 ; Vaar 22, Pauri 18 ; Vaar 39, Pauri 13.

65 Panth Prakash, p.96 ; Macauliffe, M.A., The Sikh Religion, Vol.II, p.151 ; Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N.W.F.P., Vol.I, p.681.

66 Banerjee, op.cit., p.260.

to be designated as masands. They appeared before the guru in month of Baisakh and deposited the collection they had made. When they left for their respective areas, the guru bestowed a turban on each one of them. They were expected not to pollute their hands with the offerings and to earn their living by engaging themselves in some business or profession. The senior masands were allowed to appoint deputies on their behalf. People in every mahal became melis of the masand through these agents and then became the Sikhs of the guru.[67] Thus every masand became responsible to the guru for the area placed under his charge. That the masands played a significant role in the expansion and consolidation of the Sikh community, cannot be denied.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the sixth guru, Hargobind, made an attempt to arm his followers and introduced certain martial practices.[68] Subsequent developments show that the new trends could not become an intergral part of the socio-religious ideals of the Sikhs. They might not have disappeared completely, but they remained subdued enough to remain imperceptible. However, they were revived as a reaction to Aurangzeb's unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Sikh community, and as an essential requirement to combat the opposition of the hill states to Guru Gobind Singh and, possibly, as a weapon forged by the peasantry to fight economic oppression inflicted on

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67 Dabistan, p.233.

68 Refer to the Chapter, 'Problems of the Provincial Administration'.

them by privileged classes.

In a religious gathering at Anandpur, on the left bank of the Satluj, Guru Gobind Singh instituted (Baisakhi of 1699) the Khalsa (the pure) i.e. a brotherhood in which the members were enjoined to take up the profession of arms, to give up their caste affiliations, and to adopt the five K's viz. kesh (unshorn hair), kanga (comb), kirpan (dagger), kara (bangle) and kachh (drawers reaching up to the knees). They were required to add the word Singh (lion) after their names. To these rules were added a number of moral injunctions.[69] More importantly, it was declared that the office of the personal guru would stand abolished after the demise of the tenth guru and that the authority of the guru would, then, be vested in the Adi Granth.[70]

In this manner, the process which had started about two hundred years earlier, reached its culmination -- the followers of Nanak, who had begun to drift away from the Hindu-fold reached a stage where their identity as a distinct socio-religious group was firmly established.

The developments which took place within the Sikh community during the eighteenth century tend to show that the principles of the Khalsa, as laid down by the tenth guru, remained intact, notwithstanding internal and external pressures to the contrary. Though Banda Bahadur enjoyed the unstinted support of the Khalsa, he failed to introduce certain innovations in its mode of life.

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69 Sri Gursobha, pp.20-47 ; Bansavalinama, pp.128-132.

70 Gurbilas Patshahi X, p.130.

In fact, the attempt created a schism - Tatv Khalsa (who stood for status quo) and Bandai Khalsa (who accepted the changes). However, the latter were forced to merge with the main body of the Khalsa.[71] Further, during the course of its struggle against the Mughals, the Khalsa effected certain structural changes within its ranks - the bifurcation of the Khalsa (1734) into Buddha Dal and Taruna Dal, the formation of twenty five guerrilla bands (1745) of a hundred men each,[72] the restructuring of sixty five such bands (1748) into eleven divisions called misals,[73] and the evolution of the institution of gurmata by which the misaldars (sikh chiefs) regulated the affairs of the Khalsa.[74] It has to be emphazied that these changes were purely organisational in nature, and implied no deviation from the code instituted by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699.

One of the primary concerns of the Sikh gurus was to eradicate inequalities born of caste, with a view to evolve an egalitarian society. A close look at the response given by various castes to this call, brings two trends, which ran parallel to each other, to the surface. First, the entry of a large number of castes

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71 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.p.100 ; Panth Prakash, pp. 526-531 ; Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.166-170.

72 Bhagat Singh, Sikh Polity, p.62.

73 Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, p.91.

74 Malcolm, Lt.Col., Sketch of the Sikhs, pp.95-98.

bearing diverse socio-economic antecedents, into the Sikh fold. Second, the highly disproportionate representation acquired by the various castes in the newly formed brotherhood.

Bhai Gurdas, a close associate of the fifth and sixth Gurus, has provided a list of men who became Sikhs from the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century.[75] From this source it has been deduced that these converts were Khatris, Aroras, Jats, Brahmins, Nais (barbers), Lohars (blacksmiths), Tarkhans (carpenters), Raj (masons), Suniaras(goldsmiths), Chhimbas (calicoe printers), Kumhars (potters), Soods, Chandals etc.

The inclusion of the poetic compositions of numerous Hindu and Muslim saints, belonging to different strata of society, showed that there could be no place for caste distinctions in the developing socio-religious group. The contributors to the Adi Granth included Jaidev a Brahmin, Pipa a king, Namdev a calicoe printer, Trilochan a Vaish, Sadhna a butcher, Dhanna a Jat, Sain a barber, Kabir a weaver, Ravidas a chamar, and, of course, the gurus who were all Khatris.[76]

The author of Gurbilas Patshahi VI wrote that the fifty two member bodyguard maintained by Guru Hargobind consisted of Chhimbas, Jhinwars, Tarkhans and Nais.[77] As such, it may be assumed that the army, too, raised by him was composed of volunteers who

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75 Bhai Gurdas, Vaar II, Pauris 13-31.

76 Kohli,S.S., A Critical Study of Adi Granth, pp.15-16.

77 Gurbilas Patshahi VI, p.153.

came from different caste-groups.. The ideal of social equality was reiterated, in a symbolic manner, on the eve of the creation of the Khalsa. The first five entrants to the new order, who were baptized by Guru Gobind Singh, were made to drink amrit from the same bowl. They were - Daya Singh a Khatri, Dharam Singh a Jat, Himmat Singh a Jhinwar, Sahib Singh a Nai and Mohkam Singh a Chhimba.[78]

Writing about the Sikhs who had broken out into open revolt under Banda, Khafi Khan wrote that the misguided sect had Khatris, Jats and other low castes in its ranks. He further stated that the brave Jats extended whole-hearted support to Banda, while the Khatris did so only because they felt that their welfare lay in it; the low castes had thrown in their lot with the rebel on account of their greed for plunder.[79] The situation has been descibed by William Irvine in the following words, "In all the parganas occupied by the Sikhs, the reversal of previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather, dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the guru, when in a short space of time he would return to his birthplace as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined arms, awaiting his orders.[80]

78 Gurbilas Patshahi X, p.129 ;. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, I,pp.857-858.

79 Khafi Khan,II,pp.651,672.

80 Irvine.W., Later Mughals, Vol.I.,pp.98-99.

From the preceding paragraphs it becomes evident that the Sikh order attracted to itself all castes - agricultural, mercantile, priestly, artisan and other professional groups. But the proportion in which they were represented was clearly unequal. It appears that till the middle of the seventeenth century, the Khatris enjoyed a numerical superiority. It has been deduced from the testimony of Bhai Gurdas that almost fifty percent of the Sikhs were Khatris, while the remaining 50 percent were formed by as many as fiteen different castes.[81]

The domination of the Khatris was, however, short-lived. For, the construction of almost all the religious centres within the confines of the Bari Doab,[82] and the intensive tours undertaken by Guru Arjun Dev in that tract, brought thousands of Jats of the Majha country into his fold.[83] Another factor seems to have contributed to this trend. Jats, originally the inhabitants of Sind during the seventh to ninth centuries, possessed a pastoral economy with a egalitarian social structure. As they migrated to the subah of Lahore via Multan, their economy registered a change from the pastoral to the agricultural. Though they advanced economically, they retained the social stigma attached to their earlier pastoral status. In other words, their social ranking

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81 Bhai Gurdas, Varr 11, Pauris 13 to 31.

82 A very large number of zamindaris in the Bari Doab belonged to the Jats ; see, Ain, II, (Tr.), pp.322-323.

83 Banerjee, I.B., Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol., p.197. ; Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol.I, p.57.

no longer corresponded with their economic position. In such circumstances they flocked to the banner of the Sikh gurus, who rejected in theory the entire system of caste and who in practice raised the Jats to the highest positions.[84] According to a contemporary, the leading _masands_ were mostly Jats who belonged to the low caste of the Vaishyas ; the Khatris had been placed under their authority ; the Brahmins and Khatris became the disciples of the guru through the agency of the _masands_.[85]

Though the institution of the _masands_ was abolished on the eve of the creation of the Khalsa, the continued ascendancy of the Jats was ensured, as the essential features of the new order were, to a considerable extent, in accord with the Jat cultural patterns.[86] About the newly adopted external symbols of the _Khalsa_, it may be pointed out that the people referred to as Getae by Monserrate in 1581 - who were the original inhabitants of the kingdom (region east of the Indus) and who regarded it as a sin to cut their hair or beard, as these were the chief and distinctive signs of manhood.[87] could be none other than the Jats.

The deepening agrarian crisis which gripped the farming community all over the empire in first half of the

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84 Ifran Habib, _Jatts of Punjab and Sindh_, in Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, (Eds.), _Essays in Honour of Dr.Ganda Singh_, pp.99-100.

85 _Dabistan_, p.233.

86 Mcleod, W.H., _Evolution of the Sikh Community_, p.12.

87 Monserrate, p.110.

eighteenth century,[88] provided another cause to the Jats of the subah of Lahore to feel discontended. The pressure of economic forces, exerted by the zamindars, jagirdars and ijaradars, had become unbearable. Driven to despair, they raised the cry of akal akal (famine famine), put on the blue garb, allowed their hair to grow and joined the banner of the Khalsa in large numbers.[89] Ensured of the support of the Khalsa brotherhood, they felt as if they had found the remedy of the ills, affecting their condition. In other words, the membership of the Khalsa provided them with the necessary strength to fight the forces of exploitation and oppression.

Time period	Prominent Sikhs	Caste identified in the case of	Jats	Khatris	Aroras	Tarkhans	Kalals	Mazhabis
			Percentage of					
1708-16	57	35	71	9	9	9	3	-
1716-39	54	37	65	16	-	-	3	10
1739-57	42	30	77	7	-	7	3	-

The above table illsutrates the pre-ponderance secured by the Jats within a period of fifty years since the middle of the

88 Siddiqi,N.A., Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals (1700-1750), pp.135-140.

89 Siyar, III,p. 895.

seventtenth century.[90] As to the Khatris, their strength among the Sikhs declined from fifty to a mere seven percent during the same period, while the number of the Tarkhans appears to have remained constant.[91] With the passage of time, the domination of the Jats in terms of numbers became so apparent that the terms Sikh and Jat began to be used as synonyms.[92] On the other hand, the Khatris did not enter the ranks of the militant Khalsa in large numbers, on account of a variety of reasons. First, the Khatris, unlike the Jats enjoyed a respectable status in the Hindu society. It is

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90 Parveen Paul, A glimpse of Social Background of Sikh Political Leaders of the 18th Century : Proceedings, Punjab History Conference, 1980, pp. 143-145.

91 The relative numerical strength of the various castes within the Sikh fold, registered little change even after the passage of another hundred years. According to the Census of 1881, of 1,706,909 persons returned as Sikhs, Jats constituted 66 percent, Tarkhans 6.5, Chamars 5.6, Churas 2.6, Aroras 2.3, Khatris 2.2 Kambos, 1.7, Lohars 1.4, Jhinwars and Nais 1.2, Rajputs 1.1 and Chhimbas 1 ; See, Mcleod, op.cit., p.93.

92 Col. A.L.H. Polier stated in 1780, "Originally and in general the Sikhs are zamindars or cultivators of land, and of that tribe called Jats which, in this part of India are reckoned the best and most laborious tillers........ This tribe of the Jats, one of the lowest among the Hindus, is very numerous and dispersed in all the country from the Attack or the Sind to the southward for beyond Agra. ; Ganda Singh, (Ed.), Early European Accounts of the Sikhs, p.56.

true that with the advent of the Mslims, the Khatris lost their hereditary avocation of soldiering, but they had regained much of their lost prestige when, as a class, they emerged as prosperous traders.[93] Since they were not faced with any competition from the Brahmins, who never enjoyed a strong social position in the region, the Khatris were not concerned about improving their social status, which was quite satisfactory.[94] Second, the Hindu officers in the service of the probincial administration, were almost invariably Khatris who had become proficient in the Persian language,[95] and this position became particularly strong during the first half of the eighteenth century.[96] They knew that they would loose their jobs if they joined the Khalsa, which had risen into open revolt against their employers (The Mughals). Third, the normal flow of trade and commerce depended on the peace and security in the region ; these conditions were rapidly disappearing during the first half of the eighteenth century, owing to the predatory activities of the Jat-dominated Khalsa. The Khatris could not be expected to identify themselves with a movement which threatened to wipe out their means of livelihood.

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93 Tavernier, II,p,p.183 ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab, pp.283,284,291.

94 For the reluctance of the Khatris to accept the principles of the Khalsa, See, Sri Gur Sobha, pp 32-41 ; Char- Bagh-i-Punjab, p.285.

95 According to Guru Nanak (Adi Granth,p.663),the Khatris having learnt the language of the Muslims, had abjured their religion ; Also see, Bansavalinama, pp.133-134.

96 Refer to the chapter,'Working of the Provincial Administration' ; Char Bagh-i-Punjab,p.284 ; Muzaffar Alam, Sikh Uprisings under Bana Bahadur, Studies in History, Vol.I, No.2, (1979),p.211

In 1581, Antoine de Monserrate became the first Christian Father to set foot on the soil of the subah of Lahore. On the request of Akhar, he accompanied the imperial army sent against Mirza Hakim. As the royal standards marched to Kabul via Lahore, the Father presented, in writing, a brief summary of Christ's Passion to the emperor. Later, he answered a number of emperor's questions relating to Christianity.[97] The campaign ended in Akbar's success, but the mission of Monserrate, confined as it was to the court, left no trace in the province under study.

The second delegation of the Jesuits, which consisted of two Fathers, Duarte Leitao and Christoval de Vega and a lay brother Estevao Ribeiro, reached Lahore in 1591. It was allowed to start a school, where Portuguese was taught to Akbar's son and grandson, besides the sons of the nobles. But the opposition of a faction at the court and the reluctance of the emperor to embrace Christianity, forced the Fathers to return to Goa.[98]

The third mission of the Jesuits, consisting of Father Jerome Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes, reached Lahore on 5 May 1595 and remained there till the end of 1598, when the court moved to Agra.[99] A quarter within the palace just on the bank of the Ravi, was set apart for the residence of the Fathers, who were treated with utmost courtesy by Akbar and

97 Monserrate, pp.118-120, 126-138.

98 Du Jarric, P., Akbar and the Jesuits, pp.49-50. ; Maclagan, E., The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, p.48.

99 Du Jarric, op.cit., pp.51-61; Maclagan, op.cit, pp.51-53.

Prince Salim ; they showed great reverence to all objects connected with the Christian creed. Akbar visited their Chapel, attended the ceremonies in the manner of a devotee, and made presents of hangings of silk and gold for the place. He also lent his collection of European books to the Fathers. On his part, the prince ordered the Portuguese painter, who had accompanied the mission, to make the portraits of the Virgin, the infant Jesus and the Crucifix. They were also allowed to start a school for the sons of the Mughal nobles and feudatory chiefs, where they were taught the Portuguese, to enable them to understand the doctrines of Christianity. Such was the success achieved by the Jesuits that two of their pupils sought to become Christians and another, a monk.[100]

A more important concession to the Jesuits was the permission to build a Church, as a result of which an elegant and commodius building was constructed and inagurated on 7 September, 1597 in the presence of the governor of the <u>subah</u>.[101] Close to it was located a cemetry for the burial of the Christians who expired in Lahore. In 1613, Father Joseph de Castro purchased a twelve <u>bigha</u> plot of land for the purpose at the village Jumah Muzang Hari Phulwari, south of Lahore city. Though the Fathers lost control of it from 1614 to 1624, it was restored and made revenue-free by a farman issued by Jahangir in 1626 and confirmed by another issued by Aurangzeb in 1671.[102]

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100 Du Jarric, <u>op.cit</u>.,pp.62-69.
101 Maclagan, <u>op.cit</u>.,pp.319-320.
102 <u>ibid.</u>, pp. 329-330.

More significant from the social point of view was the permission to preach publicly the faith of Jesus Christ in the city of Lahore. By September 1595, several persons had been baptized.[103] In 1599, within a period of five or six months 39 conversions took place ; in 1600, as many as 39 persons were baptized on one occasion, 20 on another and 47 on yet another.[104] In 1600, a convert from Lahore was admitted to the College of Santa Fee at Goa, to be trained for priesthood.[105] The converts mostly came from the lower sections of the Hindu society -- servants to Armenians or Europeans or else embroiderers, surgeons (nais) etc.[106]

Since the Fathers had a sincere faith in the efficacy of infant baptism for the salvation of souls, they frequently administered the rite to non-christian infants, who were at the point of death.[107] Manucci, the physician, claimed that in a period of eight years, spent at Lahore, he sprinkled the water of baptism on 15,000 infants. Thus, 'with this profession of doctor it was possible to do some service of God.' [108]

An important feature of the life of the Christians of Lahore was the pomp and glitter which marked their festivals and processions. At the forty-day long festival of Noel of the Year 1600, the special attractions were the manger placed on the altar

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103 Du Jarric, op.cit., p.71.
104 ibid., p.130.
105 Maclagan, op.cit., p.300.
106 Du Jarric, op.cit., p.71 ; Maclagan, op.cit., p.274.
107 Du Jarric, op.cit., p.87 ; Maclagan, op.cit., p.281.
108 Manucci, III, p.187.

of the church in which lay the image of the infant Jesus, and the pestorale (opera) depicting scenes from a variety of Christian themes. The celebrations were witnessed by a large number of Muslims and Hindus.[109] In 1607, a colourful and moving procession was taken out to commemorate Christ's Passion. It was headed by a crucifix, followed by a band of children singing latinies. One of the devout joined in, with his arms tied to a large beam, as if it were a cross. As the procession passed through the streets of the city, it was watched with awe by vast crowds of non-christians. On the evening of the Easter Day, the Church was profusely illuminated with candles and lamps, and a variety of fire-works were let off. Early in the morning, a grand procession headed by a cross decorated with flowers and accompanied by musicians playing hautboys, was taken out. The Christians, clad in festal garments followed, holding candles in their hands. Likewise on the feast of Corpus Christi, one of the Fathers carried, through the streets of Lahore, the holy Sacrament enclosed in a glazed tabernacle under a canopy. He was followed by numerous torch-bearers and others, who sang or played on pipes.[110]

The Fathers found it essential to learn the Persian language in order to propagate their creed. Fathers, Xavier and Pinheiro had become quite proficient in it. In fact, the former

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109 Du Jarric, op.cit, pp.127-129.

110 Guerreiro, F., Jahangir and the Jesuits, pp.32-34.

produced two Persian works on Christianity entitled Mirat-ul-Quds (Mirror of Holiness) and Aina-i-Haqnuma (Truth-showing Mirror). Written originally in Portuguese, they were translated by Xavier. With the assistance of a prominent scholar of the day, Abdul Sattar bin Qasim of Lahore. The latter had been commissioned by Akbar to study Portuguese, to be able to translate European books on religion and history into Persian. He pursued this task under the guidance of Father Xavier, and brought out a book entitled Samrat-ul-Falsafa (The Fruit of Philosophy) or Ahwal-i-Faringistan (A History of Europe). Besides an account of Rome and Greece, it contained the lives of numerous philosophers.[111]

It may be pointed out that the above activities were undertkane only with the support of the Central and provincial administrations, a fact which is faithfully acknowledged, more than once, in the Jesuit accounts. It was only then that the hostility borne by the Muslims and Hindus to the Christians -- instances of which are too numerous to be recounted here -- could be overcome. Besides providing security to the Fathers and their holy places, the Mughals often aided them financially. Shortly after his accession, Jahangir confirmed the monthly stipend of fifty rupees to the Fathers at Lahore, which they had been receiving since the days of Akbar. In fact, he added another fifty rupees as alms for the poor Christians and thirty rupees for the maintenance of the Church at Lahore.[112]

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111 Maclagan, op.cit., pp.199,204.

112 Guerreiro, op.cit., p.35.

The dissesions between the Mughals and the Portuguese on the western coast, forced the closure (1614) of the Church at Lahore and the exist of Father Machado to Agra for protection, alongwith the Christian community of Lahore. Though the storm blew over as suddenly as it had arisen, the mission at Lahore was revived only after a period of ten years.[113] When Shahjahan clashed with the Portuguese at Hugli (1632) the Church at Lahore was demolished at his orders,[114] so that the Mass could be held only on the ground-floor of the Father's living quarters.[115] The fortunes of the Christians of Lahore declined progressively during the second half of the seventeenth century, as the Jesuits ceased to get moral and material support, following the losses suffered by the Portuguese at the hands of the Dutch and the English.[116] The Christian community of Lahore had always consisted mainly of European artillerymen in the service of the Mughals. In 1752, these too were deported to Kabul by Ahmed Shah Abdali.. No priest was left to minister to those left at Lahore.[117] Since then, little was heard of the Christians of Lahore for a long time.

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113 Maclagan, op.cit., pp.83, 297.

114 Bernier, pp.177, 287.

115 Maclagan, op.cit., p.320.

116 ibid., p.124.

117 ibid., p.133.

Chapter X

SOCIAL TENSIONS

The subah of Lahore was peopled by Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and, to a limited extent, the Christians. In ordinary circumstances, the people belonging to diverse religious groups lived in harmony with one another. But the natural tendency among the religious-minded to adopt uncompromising and irrational positions in religious matters, often assumed the form of bigotry and fanaticism.[1] Such people did not find it difficult to enlist the support of large numbers of their co-religionists, whose religious passions could be roused with the ostensible purpose

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1 There was no dearth of such individuals in the subah of Lahore. Though Pratab Mal Chaddha was a gnostic, he held a poor opinion about the Muslims. Once a Muslim said to him, "Two or three kafirs who are just and charitable like Nausherwan and Hatim may go to heaven". Pratab Mal replied, But in my opinion, not a single Muslim would be able to do so". (Dabistan, p.175)

Shaikh Hasan, one of the disciples of Mulla Muhammad Masud Kashghari, avoided any contact with the Shias and did not allow them to enter his house. (Dabistan, p.266).

Mulla Ibrahim was found to be such a staunch Shia that he did not consume oil for six months simply because all the sellers of oil in Lahore happened to be either Sunnis or Hindus. (Dabistan, p.270).

of asserting the superiority and distinctiveness of their creeds. This brought them into an inevitable conflict with other religious groups leading to social tensions which, besides involving large sections of the society, often assumed serious proportions.

Mulla Ahmed of Thatta, who had put in a lot of effort to acquire the knowledge of ordinary sciences, was a staunch adherent of the Imami sect of Islam, i.e. Shiaism. It appears that unlike many other Shias of the day, he did not practise taqiya i.e. outward conformity to Sunni practices in order to evade detection and persecution. Instead, he talked zealously about Shia tenets, engaged himself frequently in Shia-Sunni polemics and did not hesitate to use immoderate language in his discourses.[2] It was also alleged that he reviled the companions of the Prophet.[3]

The policy of Sulh-i-Kul (universal peace) followed by Akbar in religious matters, created an environment in which people like Mulla Ahmed could follow their creeds without any hindrance.[4] In fact, Akbar had recognized the scholarly talent in the Mulla, and at the recommendation of Hakim Abul Fath, had assigned to him the task of writing a portion of Tarikh-i-Alfi, a history of one thousand years of Islam. The Mulla completed two volumes of the book, covering a long period from the thirty-sixth year of Islam upto the time of Chingez Khan, The author

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2 A.N., III, p.527 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.566

3 Badauni, II, p.364.

4 A.N., III, p.527 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), p.566.

could not complete the work on account of his unnatural death, which took place in the city of Lahore, towards the end of 1588.[5] Badauni, who was himself a bigoted Sunni, has alleged that Mulla Ahmed's narrative has been coloured by his religious proclivities.[6]

Mulla Ahmed's way of life did not fail to offend the Sunnis of the metropolis. Mirza Faulad, the son of Khudadad Barlas, who was strongly attached to Sunnism, resolved to put an end to the Mulla's life. It may be noted here that Mirza Faulad was not a commoner ; Akbar had sent (1577) him as his ambassador to the court of Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the ruler of Trans-oxiana. "The selection of Mirza Faulad for this embassy is not without significance, for he was a fanatical Sunni and was likely to suit the orthodox Turanians." [7]

On the night of 31 December 1588, Mirza Faulad and a companion hid themselves in one of the dark lanes of the city, and sent a man disguised as a royal messenger to the Mulla's house with (false) official summons for him. As soon as the Mulla was found riding on his way, Mirza Faulad and his accomplice

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5 The work was brought to completion i.e. upto 1588 by Asaf Khan. See, Rizvi, S.A.A., Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign, p.256 ; Harbans Mukhiya, Historians and Historiography During the Reign of Akbar, p.108.

6 Badauni, II, p.319.

7 Riazul Islam, Indo-Persian Relations, p.52.

attacked him with their swords and cut off his forearm. As a result of the blows, the victim fell from his horse. Thinking that they had severed his head, the assailants disappeared from the scene. Mulla Ahmed took hold of his arm and managed to reach Hakim Hasan's house. Meanwhile, Khwaja Mulk Ali, who was on night patrol duty, apprehended the two culprits. The stains of blood on their clothes as well as the swords proved their guilt beyond doubt. Yet they denied that they had committed the crime. The imperial court was stationed at Lahore at that time. Akbar sent the Khan-i-Khanan, Asaf Khan, Khudawand Khan and Abul Fazl to ascertain the truth from Mulla Ahmed. The Mulla who had still some more time to live, stated all that had happened. The emperor ordered the two assasins to be tied to the feet of elephants and dragged through the streets of Lahore. Some of leading persons interceded, though unsuccessfully, with the emperor to secure their release. Mirza Faulad and his fellow-criminal died of the punishment inflicted on them. Mulla Ahmed also succumbed to his injuries a few days later.[8] Though Abul Fazl has asserted that the violent dispute between the Sunnis and Shias ended, yet this was not borne out by subsequent developments.

When Hakim Abul Fath asked Mirza Faulad if he had killed Mulla Ahmed out of religious hatred, the Mirza denied it. In fact, he declared that if such had been his motive, he would

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8 Badauni, II, p.364-365 ; M.U., I, (Tr.), pp.566-667.

have chosen someone greater than the Mulla as his victim. This statement is disproved by the fact that after the burial of Mulla Ahmed, the two leading intellectuals of the age, Abul Fazl and Faizi, had placed guards over his grave. But this precuation proved to be of no avail. For, as soon as the emperor left for Kashmir (April 1589), the people of Lahore dug up the Mulla's grave, extracted the corpse and burnt it.[9] Surprisingly, this fact has been omitted by Abul Fazl.

There can be no doubt that Mulla Ahmed was quite unrestrained in his denunciation of Sunni Islam and in the bargain he had earned, in a large measure, the hatred of not only one individual but a large section of Sunni population. Thus came to prevail a kind of social tension in the metropolis, which did not die with the murder of Mulla Ahmed or even the punishment of Mirza Faulad. Had it not been so, guards would not have been placed over the grave of a Shia intellectual, and a mob, apparently consisting of impassioned Sunnis, would not have desecrated it, in complete disregard of the deterrent punishment meted out to Mirza Faulad.

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9 Badauni, II, p.365 ; M.U., I, (Tr), p.567.
Syad Muhammad Latif's interpretation of (History of the Punjab, p.143) the above matter is unconvincing. He wrote, "Two buildings were erected outside the city of Lahore for the purpose of carrying on religious controversies. One of these called Khyrpura was intended for the Muhammadans, Jews and fire worshippers and the other called Dharampura for the Hindus. The debates sometimes created fatal discords, and in one of them a learned Shia, Mulla Ahmed, author of the Tarikh-i-Alfi, was assassinated in the streets of Lahore by Mirza Faulad. The assassin was subsequently condemned to death, and executed by being bound alive to the leg of an elephant."

The Shia-Sunni differences prevalent in the city of Lahore came to the surface once again towards the middle of Aurangeb's reign. The trouble originated in the differences of a personal nature that existed between the governor of the Subah of Lahore, Mirza Qiwamuddin Khan[10] and the qazi of Lahore, Syed Ali Akbar Allahabadi. It may be pointed out that with a view to uphold the shariat, Aurangzeb had strengthened the position of the qazis in the matters pertaining to the administration.[11] Taking advantage of this trend, Syed Ali Akbar also began to regard himself as the equal of the provincial governor. But Qiwamuddin, who was conscious of his noble lineage and accomplishments, could not tolerate the qazi's over bearing attitude. In fact, the disagreement between the two came to the surface at the very outset. Thereafter, each one of them began to look for an

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10 He was one of the padshazadas of Mazandran and rose to be the sadr of Iran, during the reign of Shah Abbas. But he could not pull on with his brother, Sultan Khalifa, who was related to the Shah and who held the office of the wazir of the realm.A un-favourable turn of events forced Qiwamuddin to migrate to India. He entered the imperial service and secured the rank of 4000 zat and 2000 sawar including the title of amir, the banner and the drum. In the 19th, year of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed the governor of Kashmir and sometime after he was assigned the same office in the subah of Lahore, which he held from the 21st to the 23rd, year of Aurangzeb's reign. He also carried the additional charge of the faujdari of Jammu. (Khafi Khan,II,p.256 ; M.U.,I,(Tr.),p.518; M.Athar Ali, Provincial Governors under Aurangeb -- An Analysis, in Medieval India : A Miscellany, Vol.I,p.112.)

11 Khafi Khan,II,p.216 ; Siyar, II,p.826.

opportunity to disgrace the other. The discord between the two officers was further accentuated by their ill-intentioned advisors, so that both sides failed to exercise restraint. Things came to such a pass that the governor and the qazi sent written complaints against each other to the emperor. However, before the latter could give his verdict, matters came to a head.[12]

The qazi's nephew (sister's son) Sayyid Fazil was a turbulent youngman who often indulged in loose talk and violent actions.[13] This, probably, gave an opportunity to Qiwamuddin to avenge himself on the qazi. Giving out that he was acting on the directions received from the court, he ordered Nizamuddin, the kotwal, to go to the qazi's house with a body of men and drag him to his presence in an insulting manner. The qazi appears to have got an inkling of the proposed action, for he fortified his house in order to evade arrest. In the ensuing conflict, the qazi as well as his nephew were killed and the qazi's son received injuries. The people of the city collected together in thousands. The crowd included the educated (who had read only a few words, called themselves ulama, but were worse than the ignorant) and the unlettered, weavers and men of all other professions. They protested vociferously against the governor and the kotwal, who were forced to shut themselves in their houses. Such was the

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12 Khafi Khan, II, p.256 ; M.U.., I, (Tr.), p.519.

13 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.188.

intensity of popular feeling against them that not even their servants could pass through a street or bazar.[14]

When the emperor came to know of the incident, he ordered the removal of the governor as well as the kotwal from their posts and ranks. Prince Muhammad Muazzam was appointed the new governor of the subah with Lutfullah Khan as his deputy. Since the latter could not be spared at that moment, his brother Hafizullah Khan, the faujdar of Chiniot(located at a short distance to the south of Lahore), was deputed to act in his place. He was commanded to deliver the kotwal to the heirs of the late qazi to be put to death, and to send the governor to the court, escorted by mace-bearers. Taking up his new assignment, Hafizullah Khan acted in a cool and calculated manner. He took the kotwal into his custody and investigated the matter according to the rules of the shariat. He made over the kotwal to the heirs of the qazi, who used their right of retaliation or qisas (قصاص) to put him to death. Meanwhile, Qiwamuddin was still besieged in his house by a large hostile mob. Therefore, it was impossible for him to be taken out through the streets and bazars of the city. Hafizullah Khan managed to convey him in a closed planquin upto the river, from where he was sent away by boat.[15]

Qiwamuddin reported at Ajmer, where the court was stationed at that time. The son of the late qazi, who had also

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14 Khafi Khan, II, p.257 ; M.U., II, (Tr), p.519.

15 Khafi Khan, II, pp.257-258 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), pp.519-520.

reached there, accompanied by a large number of supporters, demanded the execution of the former governor in retalitation for his father's death. The emperor ordered the case to be decided in accordance with the shariat. In their attempt to humiliate Qiwamuddin, the heirs of the qazi demanded that he should be allowed neither to engage a lawyer not to come to the court in a planquin or on horseback. Since, the Shaikh-ul-Islam was a God-fearing man, he differed with the other qazis in the matter of prosecution. He refused to pronounce a judgement upholding the charge of murder against Qiwamuddin. The legal battle dragged for a long time. The disgrace and humiliation to which Qiwamuddin was subjected told seriously upon his health. But they continued to bring him to the court even in that state, so that he died out of pity at his own miserable condition.[16] According to another version, the son of the qazi withdrew his demand for retaliation at the intercession of some leading nobles, soon after which Qiwamuddin died.[17]

The basic reason which set in motion a chain of events leading to the tragic death of Mirza Qiwamuddin Khan, was the disagreement between him and the qazi of Lahore - a phenomenon which was not unusual in any administrative set up. For, as noted earlier, Aurangezeb had entrenched the qazis so firmly in the administrative affairs of the empire that it had led to a lot of

16 Khafi Khan, II, p.258.

17 Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.188 ; M.U., II, (Tr.) , p.520.

heart-burning among the other officers of the state. From the social point of view, it is not the quarrel between two officers but the participation of a large number of people -- in fact thousands of them -- in the above episode which deserves attention. Two explanations might be put forward to analyse their social behaviour. First, they were merely protesting against the high-handedness of the governor and the kotwal, whose indiscretion had brought about the death of the qazi ; in other words, they were entirely motivated by secular considerations. Second, since they were always on the look-out for an execuse to show their adherence to the shariat[18], they identified themselves with the dead qazi, who by the very nature of his office, appeared to them as the upholder of the shariat. They considered the qazi's death as an outrage on Sunnism committed by a governor who was Persian and a Shia. Moved by sectarian considerations, they came out into the streets of Lahore in order to register their protest and, if possible, to indulge in violence.

The attempt made by emperor, Bahadur Shah(1707-1712) to amend the Khutba which was read every Friday in all the mosques throughout the empire, generated much social tension in the city of Lahore. The proposed alteration sought to add the appelation of heir or wasi (وصی) to the other titles of Ali, the fourth khalifa in succession to Prophet Muhammad.[19] This

18 Khafi Khan, II, p.257.

19 Siyar, II, p.381.

innovation did not fail to rouse the indignation of the Sunnis all over the country. They protested forcefully against it. They prevented the reading of the new khutba ; reports to that effect were received from the waqia-nawises of various cities and towns. Jan Muhammad and Haji Yar Muhammad, two prominent scholars of Lahore, acting in concert with other ulama of the city, led a multitude of common people to the houses of the qazi and the sadr, and forced them to expunge the objectionable word wasi. As a consequence, no khutba could be read at Lahore for several months.[20]

On reaching Lahore, Bahadur Shah invited a number of learned men of the city to discuss the controvercial matter. They included Haji Yar Muhammad, Muhammad Murad and three or four other men of repute. On behalf of the emperor, Abdul Qadir Khan the nephew of Qazi Mir along with three or four associates opened the discussion. The emperor himself put forward arguements based on hadis and other authoritative sources in order to prove the legality of the insertion of the word wasi. The ulama felt convinced that the emperor had turned a Shia, a thing which was only a rumour earlier. They argued that the learned men in the past had advocated the reading of a khutba which did not contain the word wasi - a practice which did not, in any way, deprive Ali of his right as heir. But the emperor could not be satisfied even by the most reasonable of arguments. In fact, he was alleged

20 Khafi Khan, II, pp.663-664.

to have threatened, "If you do not obey my orders, I will make you eat with dogs in the same platter". The ulama replied, "It does not matter, for we feared that you would make us eat out of the same platter as yourself."[21] Besides, Haji Yar Muhammad failed to restrain himself and talked in an unseemly manner, only to provoke the emperor into saying, "Are you not afraid of the king's anger". The Haji replied, "I had hoped for four things from my Creator - acquisition of knowledge, preservation of the word of God, the pilgrimage to Mecca and martyrdom. I am thankful to the bounteous God for having achieved the first three. Martyrdom remains ; I hope to attain that too, through the kind attention of the just emperor."[22]

Such disputation went on for many days. More than one lakh of people including Afghans alligned themselves with Haji Yar Muhammad. Prince Azmi-ush-Shan, too, sympathised with the agitators. It has been suggested that he did so with the desire to curry favour with the Sunnis of Lahore whose help he would need in the impending war of succession.[23] Meanwhile, the emperor failed to tolerate the vehement opposition of the ulama. He threatened to to punish them with imprisonment and even death. Prince Muizuddin, thereupon, jumped into the fray and despatched all his troops and artillery to protect the ulama.

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21 Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, ff.115b-116 a.

22 Khafi Khan, II, p.682.

23 Rizvi, S.A.A., Shah Wali Allah and His Times, p.114.

He declared that he would personally lead the fight if the imperial troops dared to attack them. Having given the name of Dar-ul-jihad to the city of Lahore,[24] the emperor decided to give a fair trial to his novel experiment. He sent a Shia khatib to the Masjid Jamia under an armed escort led by Azim-ush-Shan. Though averse to the innovation, the Prince acquiesced in, for the time being, to his father's wishes out of filial obligation, However, the congregation which consisted mainly of the Hanifite Sunnis got information about the emperor's designs, attacked the khatib and killed him before he could utter the word in dispute. Azim-ush-shan, strangely enough, failed to intervene.[25] However Kamwar Khan wrote that the emperor ordered the mischievous khatib of the Masjid Jamia to be confined in the fort of Akbarabad. Islam Khan was ordered to enter into the city the next Friday along with the whole of artillery and to see to it that the khutba was read in the prescribed form ; he was also required to crush mischief or opposition, if any.[26]

At last, the emperor felt constrained to give up his intentions. The sadr prepared a petition on the subject of the reading of the khutba. The emperor signed it with an order that the khutba was to be read henceforth in the manner it was

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24 Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, f.116 a.

25 Siyar, II, p.381.

26 Kamwar Khan, p.131.

read in the days of Aurangzeb; it was to contain various respectful titles of Ali, but the controversial word 'wasi was not to be included. Although the old form of the khutba was restored, yet the new order could not be given adequate publicity. Even the close companions of the emperor did not known about it. It was feared that the large number of common people who were, evil - intentioned might raise a tumult. Therefore it was ordered that these people should not be allowed to enter the mosque when the khutba was being read.[27]

Soon after, the emperor ordered the qazi, muhtasib and the mufti of Lahore to present themselves at the Masjid Jamia. A large number of imperial officers viz. Islam Khan, Hamiduddin Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Syed Amjad Khan, Sadr-i-Jahan, Shariat Khan, (naib qazi-ul-quzat), Danishwar Khan, Maulavi Khan, Mehboob Khan, Qazi Khan and Sarbarah Khan were directed to offer their prayers at the said mosque.[28] As the khutba was being read, thousands of people collected on all sides of the mosque with protesting intentions. But to their relief, they found that the khutba had been recited with the traditional contents. As such, they dispersed peacefully and the commotion subsided. However, the emperor did not forget to order the confinement of as many as seven learned men, including Haji Yar Muhammad, in the fort of Gwalior.[29]

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27 Khafi Khan, II, p.682.

28 Kamwar Khan, p.132.

29 Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, f.116b ; Khafi Khan, II, p.683.

The social relations between the Muslims and Hindus were not always cordial. In 1634, when Shajahan reached the qasba of Gujrat, the prominent Muslims of the place complained that a number of local Hindus were in possession of Muslim women and that they had even converted certain mosques into their residential apartments. The emperor deputed Shaikh Mahmud Gujrati, the darogha of the newly-converted Muslims, to inquire into the complaint. He was ordered that if the allegations were proved correct, the Muslim women as well as the mosques were to be delivered from the custody of the Hindus. The said officer rescued as many as seventy such women and placed them under the charge of pious Muslims. The mosques which were found under the occupation of the Hindus were taken away from them after extracting a fine, and Islamic practices were revived in them.

The emperor further decreed that if any Hindu, who was in possession of a Muslim woman, accepted Islam like the tribe of Joku (the zamindar of Bhimbar), he should marry her again according to the rules of the shariat. After the introduction of this order, a number of Hindus accepted Islam and continued to keep the Muslim women in matrimony. Those who failed to do so were deprived of the said women who were, later on, married to Muslims.[30]

According to the author of Amal-i-Saleh, the various officers employed in the departments of revenue or religious affairs were asked to make necessary inquiries whereever the above

30 Lahori, I(ii), pp.57-58 ; Kambo, II, pp.64-65.

conditions existed in the subah of Lahore and to transfer the Muslim women and mosques from the control of the Hindus to that of the Muslims. As a result, about four hundred Hindus entered the fold of Islam, three mosques were reclaimed from the occupation of the Hindus, and azan and namaz were revived in them. As an act of retaliation to the indiscretion of the Hindus, three temples were razed to the ground and mosques were built over their ruins. A Hindu found guilty of violating the sanctity of Quran was put to death.[31]

Hindu-Muslim relations presented themselves in an entirely new form of Bhimbar, a mahal in the upper reaches of the Chenhat Doab.[32] It was found that the Muslims and Hindus of the place, gave their daughters in marriage to each other. It appears that the Muslims among them, having embraced Islam not long ago, continued social intercourse with their Hindu counterparts who, probably, belonged to the same caste as they. Anyhow, it was reported that whenever the Hindu wife of a Muslim died, she was buried in accordance with the Islamic rites. In like manner, the Muslim wife of a Hindu husband was cremeated on her death, as was customary with the Hindus. When Shahjahan became aware of this phenomenon (1634), he ordered that the Hindus who had married Muslim girls should embrace Islam and remarry according to the

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31 Kambo, II, p.65.

32 Ain, II, (Tr.), p.325.

new injunction, they were to be fined according to their status and separated from their Muslim wives. As a consequence, thousands of Hindus embraced Islam. Even the zamindar of Bhimbar, whose name was Joku, along with his clansmen number five thousand accepted Islam. The emperor honoured him with the title of Raja Daulatmand. The government also sent qazis and ulama to Bhimbar in order to teach the natives to mould their lives on the principles of the shariat.[33]

The evolution of the Sikh religion took place in the subah of Lahore during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Sikh gurus, through a series of measures, enunciated a new creed which sought to displace the prevailing religious practices as well as the contemporary social system. The new doctrine did not fail to give offence to the orthodox sections and generated social tensions.

The third guru, Amar Das, whose pontificate extended from 1552 to 1574, made his headquarters at Goindwal, a town on the Beas and the Delhi-Lahore Highway. He was faced with the hostility of the local Muslims who instigated young boys to disturb the supply of water to the guru's establishment. Very often, they broke with stones and pellets the earthen pitchers which the guru's followers carried on their heads. At the guru's advice,

33 Lahori, I(ii), p.57 ; Kambo, II, pp.63-64.

the pitchers were substituted by goat-skins which could not be broken. But the Muslim boys persisted in their mischief and used arrows to pierce them empty. At last, the water carriers made use of brass-containers which, too, were knocked down with bricks and stones. Driven to exasperation, they complained to the guru, who acted with remarkable forbearance and forbade any act of retaliation.

However, the tormentors of the Sikhs received punishment from the divine source. A group of armed sanyasis came to Goindwal. The Muslim boys were, as usual, engaged in their favourite pastime. Being hit by a stone missile, the head of the sanyasis was deprived of his eye. The incident sparked off an armed clash between the sanyasis and the local Muslims in which swords, spears, daggers, axes and arrows were used. A number of men were killed on both sides including many of the detractors of the guru.[34]

The Hindus were not to be left behind in their opposition to the growth of the Sikh religion. The Brahmins and Khatris, who constituted the privileged classes among the Hindus, did not take kindly to the idea of social equality emphasized through the institution of langar, the condemnation of various Hindu beliefs and customs, and the construction of the first Sikh centre of pilgrimage at Goindwal. These Hindus were joined by a Marwaha Khatri,[35]

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34 Macauliffe,M.A., The Sikh Religion, Vol.II,pp.68-70 ; Banerjee,I.B.,Evolution of the Khalsa,Vol.I,p.173.

35 Rose, H.A., A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province, Vol,II,p.524.

'whose interest it was on the score of his commercial and banking transactions, to maintain the ancient superstitions.' The guru's opponents were also joined by the men who had sold their land to him for the construction of the baoli, complaining that they had not been paid the price agreed upon.

The aggrieved parties went to the court of the emperor, Akbar, and presented their petitions against the guru. The complaint of the Marwaha Khatri was summarily rejected. But, the emperor summoned the guru to his presence in order to probe the charge of having supplanted traditional Hinduism by unorthodox and progressive ideas. The guru, Amar Das, execued himself on the ground of old age and sent his son-in-law, Jetha, to the imperial court. Jetha pleaded the guru's case in such a manner that the emperor dismissed all the complaints against him. However, he advised the guru through Jetha, to make a pilgrimage to the Ganga and offered to exempt the entourage from the pilgrims'tax.[36] Apparently, the advice was calculated to diffuse the tense situation by showing that the guru was not opposed to the time-honoured religious usage of the Hindus.

It has been found that political developments, in certain circumstances, created tensions in the society. The rebellious activities of Banda in the cis-Satluj region had taken the character of an anti-Muslim tirade.[37] Therefore, the

36 Macauliffe, op.cit., pp.104-109.

37 Akhbarat, Jahandar Shah's reign, pp.105,106,282.

Muslim population inhabiting the adjoining areas began to suffer from a sense of insecurity which forced them to join hands in the name of religion and even collaborate with the government in suppressing Banda's revolt. For instance, when Shams Khan, the faujdar of Bet Jalandhar Doab, mobilized his forces to check Banda's advance, the zamindars of the region joined him with a large fighting force, consisting of men of various professions - peasants and artisans, particularly the weavers. Not only did they make voluntary contributions of money but also swore to stand by one another in the impending jehad. It appears that the Muslim masses of the Doab did not want to meet the fate of their counterparts in the sarkar of Sirhind. They had no alternative but to extend solid support to their rulers in this difficult hour. Therefore, it was not surprising that Shams Khan, a mere faujdar, was able to raise an army of one lakh strong.[38]

This attitude on the part of the Muslims was not confined to the Bet Jalandhar Doab only. The Muslim population of the subah of Lahore seems to have ranged itself behind the provincial administration headed by Zakariya Khan, which was then engaged in curbing the Sikh insurgency. When the provincial government made an appeal to the Muslims to offer their voluntary services in a crusade against the Sikhs, thousands of Muslims,

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38 Khafi Khan, II, pp.657-658 ; M.U., II, (Tr.), p.553.

belonging to different races, castes and professions - Mughals, Pathans, Balochis, Syeds, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Telis, Arains and weavers - collected under the Haidari Jhanda.[39]

During the period under study, the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs sent their sons to the maktabs to acquire the knowledge of Persian. However, the presence of a number of young boys belonging to different communities under the same roof, created unpleasant situations which could, at times, assume serious proportions as demonstrated by the case of Haqiqat Rai's execution (1734).

Haqiqat Rai was the son of a Puri Khatri, Bagh Mal, who was employed as a clerk in the office of Amir Beg, the district officer of Sialkot.[40] In accordance with the prevailing custom, the boy was married at a young age to Durgi, the daughter of Kishan Singh, an Uppal Khatri of Batala. This family consisted of ardent Sikhs. Under its influence, Haqiqat Rai learnt the teachings of Sikhism. Once, on the occasion of Ashtami, he went to the maktab with a tika on his forehead. The Muslim boys ridiculed him and spoke ill of Hindu gods and goddesses. Haqiqat Rai retaliated by denigrating Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. The incident was reported to the local qazi, whose verdict asked the boy either to embrace Islam or face death.

Bagh Mal decided to make an appeal to the provincial administration in order to save the life of his son. On way to

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39 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.110-111 ; Panth Prakash, pp.594-595.

40 Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, p.48.

Lahore, he reached Daska. The Khatris of this place collected under Rup Chand and appeared before the provincial qazi. They offered a large sum of money in return for Haqiqat Rai's life. All appeals, however, fell on deaf ears. Zakariya Khan, the governor, was inclined to acquit the boy. But thousands of Muslims collected in front of his office and demanded the implementation of the qazi's judgement.[41] The provincial administration could not disregard the opinion of the Muslim population. Since Haqiqat Rai could not be persuaded to embrace Islam, he was executed at the Nakhas and cremated near the tomb of Shah Bilawal.[42] In an almost identical incident, which took place a few years after the above episode, Subeg Singh a Janbar Jat of Lahore and his son, Shahbaz Singh, lost their lives.[43]

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the missionary activities of the Christian Fathers, undertaken in the city of Lahore, attracted numerous converts to Christianity. The desire on the part of certain non-Christians to embrace Christianity was met with strong oppostion from their co-religionists. The Fathers, on their part, earned the hostility

41 Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, p.49.

42 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.149-151 ; Panth Prakash, pp.741-745.

43 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.262-268 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.146-149 ; Panth Prakash, pp.761-767.

of certain sections of the population, which were opposed to their proselytizing work. The situation speaks for itself through the following episodes recorded in the missionary accounts.

A young married man named Polada was the son of a leading citizen of Lahore. Although he was a Brahmin by birth and a Pandit by profession, yet he became a Christian neophyte. His parents, relatives and friends failed, inspite of their best efforts, to dissuade the young man from his resolve. They even persecuted his wife and administered magical powders to him in order to reclaim him to his faith, but to no avail. The young neophyte was forced to take refuge in the house of Father Pinheiro. His parents, accompanied by a number of their relatives, arrived at the Father's door and raised a great tumult. In fact, they fell upon the youth and tried to drag him away, but failed in the face of his determined resistance. However, they returned after a few days along with the leading members of their community. The youth not only rejected all their implorations to return to their fold, but also discarded his sacred thread and the characteristic lock of hair, the two essential symbols of his former creed.

The relatives of the neophyte, thereafter, contacted the governor and other high officials of the provincial administration through certain Hindu government servants. They brought forward several false allegations against Father Pinheiro, accusing him of eating human flesh, and using it in making drugs,

practising sorcery and kidnapping children to be sold at Goa. The governor, who was convinced of the Father's innocence and piety, declared that the neophyte and his wife, being adults, were at liberty to choose the religion of their liking. At the same time, he inflicted a severe reprimand on the youth's parents for their campaign of villification. However, in order to appear impartial, the governor referred the case to the chief Hindu ecclesiastic of the city. He ordered the kotwal to handover the youngman to his relations only if he agreed to return to Hinduism ; otherwise he was to be placed under the charge of the Fathers.

As the neophyte was being carried to the said personage, he was followed, along with his parents, by four to five thousand Hindus. A large number of them had closed their shops for the day and turned up from every quarter of the city to watch the proceedings. The streets overflowed with people, while many were perched on the adjoining roof-tops. Meanwhile, the angry multitude not only heaped a thousand insults on the youth but also subjected him to repeated kicks and blows. The men of the kotwal could provide little protection to the victim.

At last, the neophyte was produced before the Hindu ecclesiastical judge who, by a variety of arguments, tried to make him discard Christianity. The defendant, who had endured his ordeal with remarkable perseverence all through, could not be

shaken off his ground. Consequently, he was allowed to go, giving another opportunity to the crowd of the Hindus to subject him to a violent and humiliating treatment. Since his very life was in danger, the kotwal deputed a large number of his men to escort him to safety.

Afterwards, the youth was made to present himself before the king's Cazique, (probably, the provincial qazi) where he made a public renunciation of his possessions and claims to parental property, as demanded by his relatives. The deed was duly handed over to the parents. The neophyte was placed under the charge of Father Pinheiro, who presented him before the governor. The latter was greatly impressed at the man's courage and determination, and frequently gave him small gifts in cash. This interesting but unfortunate development took place in 1602.[44]

The opposition of the Hindus to the Fathers did not come to an end. They began to devise means to create problems for them. Since Qulij Khan, the governor, was known for his strong attachment to Islam and hostility to Christianity, they entertained him to a banquet and gave him a rich present. They also placed before him a memorandum containing such wild accusations as they had made earlier. In order to rouse Qulij Khan's indignation they mentioned certain Muslims who had been converted to Christianity by the use of magrical spells. They

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44 Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, pp.137-151.

sought his good offices in acquiring a building which had been given to the Fathers by the emperor, Akbar, and which housed a large number of Christians. In return for this favour, they offered to pay a handsome amount of money and other valuables. It may be pointed out that one of the Hindus had, on an earlier occasion,[45] tried unsuccessfully to prevail upon the kotwal to destroy the residence of the Fathers and drive them away.

Although the Fathers produced the papers granting them the possession of the concerned building, Qulij Khan secured their eviction by an ultimatum. As if this was not enough, the Hindus conspired with the governor to make the Christians renounce their faith by seizing their wives and children. However, the kotwal, who was on good terms with the Fathers, informed them about the sordid plan. He also offered to give shelter to the children and those who were weak in certain houses of his own. The Fathers availed themselves of the offer, though secretly.

15 September, 1605 had been fixed by the enemies of the Fathers to carry out their evil intentions. But on account of a number of unexpected happenings, the whole scheme ended in a fiasco. The governor's son returned after being defeated in a military campaign. The attention of the governor was diverted to his own disturbed affairs. Soon after, he earned the displeasure of the emperor for having failed to discharge his duties. Also, many of the Hindus, who were at the botoom of the whole

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45 Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, p.121.

affair, suffered in the end in different ways. Through the intercession of Prince Salim, the Fathers secured an order from the court for the restoration of their houses, from where the Christians had been evicted. The governor had no alternative but to implement the order.[46]

The most significant inference that emerges from the prec-eding pages is that all social tensions which erupted in the region under review, were caused by religious differences, and that the people belonging to different religious groups could be mobilised in the name of religion and led to adopt hostile, if not violent, attitude towards other communities. It has also been observed that such tensions were largely an urban phenomenon. The very size of the population of a city or town, conferred a certain amount of anonymity on its inhabitants, who felt free to behave in a manner they could not have done in a village. The provincial administration, on its part, played a dispassionate role during such situations ; it succeeded in suppressing elements which sought to exploit the religious sentiments of the people. However, there were occasions when social tensions were generated by certain measures undertaken by the government itself. It may be pointed out in the end that though the social tensions appeared time and again, they were purely transitory in nature, and therefore, failed to inflict any irreparable damage to the social fabric of the subah of Lahore.

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46 Du Jarric, op.cit., pp.197-202.

Chapter XI

DISSOLUTION OF THE MUGHAL RULE

With the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712, the institution of monarchy, was pushed into the throes of a crisis. His weak and imbecile successors became mere playthings in the hands of powerful nobles, who were themselves ranged in hostile political factions. These factions sought to acquire the control over the emperor, to secure the offices of the wazir and mir bakshi for their candidates, and to snatch the most easily manageable jagirs whose number (as also income from them) had been declining progressively. On their part the emperors failed to act as a stabilising force; instead they became the focus of intrigues against their own wazirs who, it was feared, could aspire for the throne.[1]

While the imperial court became a hot-bed of intrigues and counter-intrigues, as many as four sovereigns met their doom in quick succession. Muhammad Shah, no doubt, managed to hold the sceptre for a long span of thirty years (1719 to 1748), he did so only by making himself subservient to the various cliques within the nobility, which succeeded

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1 Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, pp.258-259.

one another to a position of dominance in the court politics[2] The process of the erosion of imperial authority quickened during the reigns of Ahmed Shah (1748-1754) and Alamgir II (1754-1759). For, they allowed the affairs of the state to drift into the hands of incompetent and self-seeking favourites, who engaged themselves in narrow factional politics, in complete disregard of the broader imperial interests[3]

The decline of monarchical authority did not fail to have repercussions in the various parts of the empire, where the signs of dissolution had made themselves manifest. The Bundelas fought their way to oust the Mughals from Bundelkhand, as the efforts of Muhammad Khan Bangash to subdue them ended in a failure. However, this Afghan mansabdar succeeded in founding his own principality with its capital at Farrukhabad. The Rohilla Afghans, too, carved out a kingdom for themselves in Rohilkhand under the rule of Ali Muhammad Khan. The Jats acquired complete superemacy over the districts of Mathura and Agra. Various petty states of Rajputana did not fail to repudiate their subordination

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2 Sarkar, J.N., Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, p.11 ;

It has been recently asserted that Muhammad Shah was equal to the machinations of individual nobles whom he kept under check and never permitted them to reduce him to a mere figure head ; Malik, Z.U., The Reign of Muhammad Shah, p.407.

3 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.13b-17a, 24b-25a, 44a, 45b; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, ff.48a, 84a ; Delhi Chronicle, pp.34, 53.

to the Mughals. However, the most serious threat to the empire was posed by the Marathas, who not only deprived the Mughals of Gujrat, Malwa and Bundelkhand but also led frequent raids into the eastern provinces.[4] Such was their ascendancy that the Mughals thought it prudent to enter into an alliance with them in order to fight against Ahmed Shah Abdali (1752).

Apart from these political and military failures, the central government exhibited an unprecedented financial bankruptcy. Even before Nadir Shah's invasion, it was found that except for the revenue of some khalisa parganhs the central treasury did not receive a single dam from the umra posted in the different subahs, whereas large amounts were remitted during the previous reigns.[5] The situation worsened in the post-Muhammad Shah period, when the 'tahvildars' of the imperial karkhanas borrowed heavily from the bankers and traders to meet the demands of the imperial household.[6] The soldiers, menials and eunuchs could not be paid their salaries for months together. The distress of the unpaid employees expressed itself in angry demonstrations in the capital.[7] The government made a desperate, but

4 For details see, Malik, op.cit., pp.116-154.

5 Tarikhi-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.2b-3a.

6 ibid., f.24b.

7 ibid., ff.29a, 30b-31b, 51b, 61b-62a, 66b, 67b, 110a-b, 125a ; Delhi Chronicle, p.43.

unsuccessful, bid to relieve the situation by the sale of royal jewels and vessels of gold and silver, and the escheat of the property of certain nobles.[8] Contributions of money were also levied on the common citizens, including traders and artisans, who protested vociferously against official high-handedness.[9] Since large chunks of khalisa lands had passed into the hands of the Marathas, Jats and Rohillas, the imperial treasury was completely starved of revenues.[10] But it was the unpaid Badakhshi solidery which made the confusion worse confounded by their violent protests against the authorities and their frequent acts of arson in the streets of the imperial capital.[11] In fact, everyone took to loot and plunder, while burgularies and dacoities became the order of the day.[12]

An empire whose central structure was afflicted with such incurable ailments, was incapable of exercising any kind of control over the provinces still held by its governors.

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8 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.61b-62a, 69a-b, 124b ; Delhi Chronicle, p.49.

9 Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, ff.11a, 17a, 19b-20a, 25a.

10 ibid., ff.9a, 15a, 28b.

11 ibid., ff.6b-8b, 16a-b, 17b-18b, 22b-23a, 26b-27a, 29b-32a, 48b-51a, 75b-79a ; Delhi Chroncile, pp.48-50, 53, 57, 61, 62, 66, 74.

12 Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, f.148.a.

It did not even care to supplant one provincial governor by another after short terms of office, which was a matter of routine during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a consequence, the governors began to enjoy unusually long tenures and that too without any restraint from the centre. Apparently, the provincial governorships began to be looked upon as the hereditary preserves of certain leading families, autonomous to all intents and purposes. This phenomenon was witnessed in the Deccan, Bengal, Awadh and Lahore, during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Abdul Samad Khan governed the subah of Lahore from 1713 to 1726. He was succeeded in office by his son, Zakariya Khan, who virtually ruled over the province for a period of two decades -- the longest tenure enjoyed by any governor of the subah -- and turned out to be one of its most successful administrators. He always kept in readiness 20,000 Mughal and Hindustani horsemen. He tried to rehabilitate the towns and villages which had suffered from the depredations of the Sikhs. The highways passing through the subah were made safe from the marauding activities of the Jats and Gujars.[13] As a result, extensive trade flourished between Kabul and Lahore, and Lahore and Shahjanabad. Foodgrains were rendered cheap, while the people led a life

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13 Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukhsiyar was Julus-i-Muhammad Shah, f.329 ; quoted in Malik, op.cit., p.252.

of contentment and ease. Zakariya Khan also extended patronage to scholars and saints, who were given daily and monthly allowances.[14] As an impartial judge he did not hesitate to punish a Mughal officer with death, who had tried to acquire a Khatri woman by force and fraud. Zakariya Khan had appointed Lakhpat Rai and Jaspat Rai, two Khatri brothers, to high offices in the provincial administration.[15] The death of Zakariya Khan (1 July 1745) hastened the dissolution of the Mughal rule in the suba.[16]

The Central government kept in abeyance the appointment of a successor to Zakariya Khan -- an unpardonable lapse. This inaction may be attributed to the conflicting motives with which the emperor, Muhammad Shah and the wazir, Qamruddin, were acting in the matter. The wazir who led the faction of the Turani nobles at the Court, was anxious to preserve the interests of a large number of Mughal mansabdars, who had been in occupation of sizeable jagirs, gsrdens and buildings in the subah. He feared that the appointment of a non-Mughal governor over the province might lead to the displacement of these officers from

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14 Haqiqat, f.9b.

15 Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Javed, ff.167b-169a.

16 Anand Ram Mukhlis has given a vivid description of the grief expressed by the populace of Lahore during the funeral of Zakariya Khan ; see Tazkira, pp.105-106.

their prized possessions.[17] As such, he recommended Yahya Khan and Hayatullah Khan (entitled Shahnawaz Khan), his nephews and the sons of Zakariya Khan to the governorships of Lahore and Multan respectively. But, the emperor who was averse to the creation of a hereditary Turani preserve in the two provinces, rejected the wazir's plea. He deputed Muhiuddin Ali Khan, the <u>diwan</u> of the escheat department, to proceed to Lahore and confiscate the wealth and property of the late governor. It was, however, believed that if the sons of Zakariya Khan had been rewarded for the past services of their family, the situation in the region would have been entirely different.[18]

Since the emperor could not resist the demands of the <u>wazir</u>, he assigned the governorship of the <u>subahs</u> of Lahore and Multan to the <u>wazir</u> himself. The <u>wazir</u>, on his part, nominated Mir Momin Khan to deputise for him in the two provinces. The new arrangement failed to impart peace and security to the region, so that the <u>wazir</u> was constrained to replace Mir Momin Khan by his own son-in-law, Yahya Khan. Simultaneously, Khwaja Ishaq Khan was made the deputy governor of Multan.[19]

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17 According to Anand Ram Mukhlis (Tazkira, pp.110-111) the city of Lahore, during the regimes of Abdul Samad Khan and Zakariya Khan, had become the home of Mughals like Balkh and Bokhara.

18 <u>Tazkira</u>, pp.110-112 ; <u>Siyar</u> III, p.856.

19 <u>Tazkira</u>, pp.112-115 ; <u>Bayan-i-Waqi</u>, pp.128-129.

Yahya Khan was faced with a difficult task. The absence of a strong administration following the death of Zakariya Khan offered an opportunity to the Sikhs to renew their depredations. The zamindars of the hilly area of Jammu, too, embarked on a path of recalcitrance. Above all, Hayatullah Khan, the ambitious and energetic brother of Yahya Khan, who held the faujdari of Bet Jalandhar Doab, sought to usrup the governorship of the subah from his elder brother.[20] He did not hesitate to lend secret support to the Sikhs in order to weaken the administration headed by Yahya Khan.[21]

Having strengthened his position for a final show-down with Yahya Khan, Hayatullah Khan marched to Lahore. In the ensuing talks between the two brothers about the division of their father's property, no amicable settlement could be reached. As a consequence, preparations for a battle were set on foot. Yahya Khan constructed morchals and placed the cannon in position. On 17 March 1747, Adina Beg Khan, a trusted lieutenant of Hayatullah Khan, opened the attack which was faced by Mir Momin Khan. The first day's fighting ended without producing any decisive result. The next day, Hayatullah Khan led the assault which resulted

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20 Tazkira, p.226.

21 Haqiqat, f.11a.

in the defeat and flight of the imperialists. The fugitive soldiers, who had not been paid their salaries for four or five months, raised a great commotion in the c-ity. On 21 March,1747, Hayatullah Khan sounded the drums of victory, entered the metropolis in triumph and captured the territory as well as treasure.[22]

Having thus usurped the governorship of the subah, Hayatullah Khan appointed Kaura Mal as his diwan and Adina Beg Khan as the faujdar of Bet Jalandhar Doab.[23] He enlisted an army of 40,000 soldiers consisting of 10,000 Uzbegs and a strong park of artillery.[24] Adopting a vindictive attitude, he arrested and confined a number of the adherents of Yahya Khan, such as Mir Momin Khan and Mir Niamat Khan who had grown grey-haired in the service of Zakariya Khan and Abdul Samad Khan. He punished them with the confiscation of their wealth and property, and humiliated them. Though, Qamruddin Khan, the wazir, felt extremely disappointed at these developments, he did not complain to his sister, who happened to be the mother of Hayatullah Khan. As for the emperor, he felt himself concerned in the least about the state of affairs in the province.[25]

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22 Tazkira,p.229 ; Bayan-i-Waqi,p.129; Kanhya Lal, Tarikh-i-Punjab,p.69.

23 Ganda Singh, Maharaja Kaura Mal Bahadur,p.28.

24 Tahmas Namah,p.38.

25 Tazkira, pp.127-129.

Yahya Khan's ouster was the first instance of a legitimate provincial governor being displaced in such a unceremonious manner -- a sure sign of the disintegration of the Mughal rule in the subah.

Knowing fully well that his position was no better than that of a usurper, Hayatullah Khan sought to legalise his de facto governorship by striking a bargain with Delhi. For this purpose, he sent a deputation under Nayim Khan to the wazir. Anand Ram Mukhlis, too, was a member of the mission which reached the imperial capital. Hayatullah Khan's offer to release Yahya Khan in return for his appointment as the governor of the subah of Lahore, was rejected with contempt. Instead he was threatened with direct military action, if he failed to restore the administration of the province to Yahya Khan.[26] It was at this stage that Yahya Khan, who had been confined in the residence of Durdana Begum, the sister of Zakariya Khan, escaped to Kot Isa Khan, with the help of Hafiz Yar Muhammad of Qasur. Hayatullah Khan made frantic efforts to apprehend the fugitive, who managed to reach Delhi.[27]

One of the inevitable consequences of the Mughal administrative system was the oppression of the peasantry, which was was caused on three counts. First, the land

26 Tazkira, pp.230-231.

27 ibid., pp.239-242 ; Siyar, III, p.857.

revenue demand was raised to such an extent (it approximated to one half of the produce) that the peasantry was left with mere subsistence. Second, the jagirdars used to exact over and above the prescribed rates. Third, zamindars and local officials used to confiscate the land of the peasants and added it to their khud kasht cultivation.[28] The oppression appears to have continued unchallanged so long as the mansabdars managed to collect the requisite amount of land revenue, enabling them to maintain their contingents in full. With the precipitation of the crisis in the jagirdari system, the mansabdars could neither collect their dues commensurate with their salaries nor maintain the required number of troops. Pressed heavily with their financial problems, the mansabdars resorted to imposition of illegal taxes which was resisted with the force of arms by the cultivators. These armed conflicts led to complete disorder in the countryside.[29]

It has been stated earlier that, besides other factors, it was the pressure of economic forces which compelled the Jat peasantry of the subah to enter the

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28 Singh,M.P., "Peasantry in Mughal India," Social Sciences Research Journal,Vol.VII, nos. 1& 2, Special Number, March-July,1982, p.70.

29 Malik,op.cit.,pp.414-415.

ranks of the Khalsa and to break into an open revolt against the Mughal administration. The stringent measures adopted by Zakariya Khan appear to have failed to suppress the Sikh guerrilla bands, engaged in widespread plundering in the countryside. In fact, the agrarian unrest assumed a new dimension when these bands took up cudgels against the intermediary zamindars who had been collaborating with the provincial administration in oppressing the pesantry.[30] One such clash took place between Tara Singh (and his companions) and Sahib Rai, the chaudhari of village Naushera (tahsil Taran Taran), who was aided by armed contingents of Mughal soldiers led by Mirza Jafar Beg, the local officer posted at Patti.[31]

A large number of intermediary zamindars who acted as chaudharis in the villages throughout the

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30 The Mughal policy of integrating these zamindars with the machinery of administration for realising land revenue from the cultivators, and also of giving them a guaranteed portion of the produce by including it in the jama, itself tended to strengthen the position of the zamindars. Besides, the policy of extending and improving cultivation with the help and cooperation of the zamindars tended, in the long run, to identify the Mughal administration especially at the local level more closely with the zamindars ; this, in turn, alienated the cultivators including the khud kasht who had always looked to the Mughal ruler for protection against local oppression ; Satish Chandra, Medieval India : Society, the Jagirdari Crisis and the Village, pp.73-74.

31 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp 101-103.

subah ; were summoned (sometime before Nadir Shah's invasion) to Lahore by Zakariya Khan. They were reprimanded for having failed to stop the depredations of the Sikhs ; they were ordered to assit the provincial administration for apprehending them, a service for which they were promised rewards. Thereafter, the chaudharis engaged themselves enthusiastically in the task assigned to them.[32] As a consequence, the Sikhs suffered from untold oppression for a period. But, the first Afghan invasion provided them with an opportunity to turn the tables on the chaudharis. In several violent encounters which took place in the Bet Jalandhar and Bari Doabs, they inflicted severe chastisement on Sahib Rai Sandhu of Naushera, Rama Randhawa of Ghaniya, Dharam Das of Jodhnagar, Gill Jats of Majitha, Aqil Das of Jandiala, Karma Chhina, Sanmukh Rai Watali, Rai Bakhta of Majitha, Rai Hasna of Mandiala, Gaina Mal of Bhilowal, Ranghars of Sathiala and B-utala, Jats of Dhanesa, Khatris of Patti Haibatpur and the Gakkhars of Shaikhupura.[33]

Soon after, a group of Sikh insurgents clashed with Jaspat Rai, the jagirdar of Aminabad, who was engaged in the collection of revenue with the help of

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32 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, pp.133-134.

33 Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, loc-cit.; Panth Prakash, pp. 771-772.

an armed contingent. In the ensuing clash, Jaspat Rai lost his life.[34] Lakhpat Rai, the diwan of the province and the brother of the deceased, swore to wreck vengeance on the Sikhs. W ith the approval of the governor, Yahya Khan, he unleashed a vigorous onslaught against them. Pushed to the defensive, the Sikhs fled to the hills of Basohli, in the upper reaches of the Bari Doab. Caught between the hills and the river Ravi at a place called Parhol Kathua, they were subjected to a terrible carnage in which thousands of them were massacred. Lakhpat Rai followed up his success by undertaking combing operations against the Sikh roving bands in the Bet Jalandhar Doab, forcing them to take refuge in the cis-Sutlej tract.[35]

The armed struggle of the peasantry against the forces of oppression represented by the intermediary zamindars and the provincial administraion, constituted one of the most important factors which undermined the Mughal rule in the subah of Lahore.

In addition to these forces of disruption, the Mughal administration in the subah was threatened by ominous developments on the north-western frontier of the

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34 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.305-306 ;Tawarik Guru Khalsa, II, pp.155 ; Panth Prakash, pp.773-775 ; Kanhya Lal, op.cit., p.68.

35 Prachin Panth Pra-kash, pp.307-320 ;Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, pp.156-158 ; Panth Prakash, pp.775-782.

empire. Following the death of Nadir Shah on 20 June, 1747, one of his principal commanders, Ahmed Khan Abdali, emerged as the unquestioned leader of the various Afghan tribes whom he welded into a powerful nation, independent of the Persians. In a short time, he brought Qandhar, Ghazni and Kabul under his occupation.[36] The scientific frontier of the Mughal empire having passed into the hands of a rapidly expanding imperialistic power, it was once again exposed to the threat of an external invasion. Hayatullah Khan, who was not on good terms with Delhi, perceived his opportunity. Allegedly at the advice of Adina Beg Khan, he concluded an alliance with the Afghan ruler which stipulated the crown of Hindustan for Ahmed Shah and the <u>wizarat</u> for himself.[37]

Nasir Khan, an officer attached to the Mughal court, had been holding the charge of the Afghan - inhabited <u>subah</u> of Kabul on the behalf of Nadir Shah since 1 739. Now, the rising tide of Afghan aggression forced him to evacuate Peshawar and flee to Lahore, where he reached on 15 November, 1747. Since Hayatullah Khan had already decided to align himself with Abdali, Nasir Khan thought it prudent to push on to Delhi.[38]

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36 <u>Tazkira</u>, pp.236-237.

37 <u>Tahmas Namah</u>, p.38 ; <u>Haqiqat</u>, f.12a ; <u>Siyar</u>, III, p.861.

38, <u>Tazkira</u>, pp.237-238 ; <u>Siyar</u>, III, p.862.

Meanwhile, Adina Beg Khan informed Delhi about Hayatullah Khan's invitation to the A-fghan invader. He did so, probably, to curry favour with the central government with a view to secure the governorship of the subah for himself. Anyhow, Adina Beg Khan's communication impressed upon the central authority the dangers to which the empire was exposed and the need to undertake requisite measures for its defence. A farman was issued recognising Hayatullah Khan as the deputy governor of Lahore. At the same time, he was ridiculed by the wazir, through a letter, for his treasonable association with a mere yasawal of Nadir Shah, in utter disregard of the traditions of his family, which had always remained loyal to Delhi. He was also promised the grant of the governorship of the provinces of Kabul, Kashmir, Thatta, Lahore and Multan provided he drove away Ahmed Shah Abdali.[39] The offer as well as the reprimand had the desired effect on Hayatullah Khan, who exhibited his c-hanged attitude by executing Sabir Shah, the envoy as well as the spiritual preceptor of Abdali.[40] Thereafter, he busied himself in making preparations to face the impending invasion.

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39 Tazkira, p.235 ; Siyar, III, pp.861-862 ; Kanhya Lal, op.cit., p.70.

40 Bayan-i-Waqi, pp.131-132 ; Haqiqat, ff.12b-13a ; Siyar, III, p.862.

Hayatullah Khan did not receive any military or financial assistance from Delhi. Nor could he hope to enlist the support of the martial elements within the subah, on accout of his cruelty and oppression.[41] Forced to fall back on his own resources, he drew up the lines of battle. He garrisoned the fortress of Hazrat Ishan with 10,000 cavalry and 5,000 musketeers under the command of Khwaja Asmatullah Khan. Another 5,000 horsemen and an equal number of match-lockmen were placed under Lachin Beg at the dargah of Shah Bilawal. The Afghans numbering 18,000 left Peshawar for Lahore, leaving behind a trail of burnt villages.[42] Having forded the Ravi, they encountered the defenders on 11 January 1748. Since the invaders had no cannon, they attacked with a small detachment of 1000 mounted match-lockmen. Jalha Khan, an Afghan notable of Qasur, who was deputed by Hayatullah Khan to make a charge, defected to the enemy.[43] The fighting continued in a desultory fashion till the sunset. As the defenders returned to their entrenchments, the Afghans delivered a lightening attack. The principal imperial commanders, including the bakshi, retreated to the city. Only Adina Beg Khan kept on firing his guns preventing the Afghans

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41 Haqiqat, ff.11b-12a.

42 Sarkar, J.N., Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, p.128.

43 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, f.4b.

from advancing any further than the fortress of Hazrat Ishan.[44] Having failed to prevent the flight of his troops, Hayatullah Khan, too, retired into the city, leaving his equipage to be plundered by a body of Turanis in his service. Since Lahore could offer him neither safety nor shelter, he fled towards Delhi at midnight.[45]

The city of Lahore lay prostrate before Ahmed Shah Abdali. However, a number of prominent officers who had served under Yahya Khan and who had been kept in captivity by Hayatullah Khan, secured their release. Led by Mir Momin Khan, Diwan Lakhpat Rai and Surat Singh, they went in a deputation to the Afghan victor, who agreed to spare the city of a sack for a ransom of thirty lakhs of rupees. However, he took possession of a large number of horses, camels, guns and other materials of war. Before marching towards Delhi, he appointed Jalha Khan of Qasur as the governor of Lahore, with Mir Momin Khan as his deputy and Lakhpat Rai as his diwan. The chieftains of Jammu and other northern hills as well as zaminders of the province hastened to offer their submission to Ahmed Shah Abdali.[46]

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44 The author of Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin accuses Adina Beg Khan of inaction on the battle-field ; Siyar, III, p.863.

45 Tahmas Namah, p.39 ; Bayan-i-Waqi, p.133 ; Zafarnamah-i-Muinul Mulk, pp.5-7.

46 Tazkira, p.260 ; Haqiqat, ff.13a-b ; Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, I, p.123.

In a sanquinary battle fought near Sirhind on 11 March, 1748, Ahmed Shah Abdali was defeated and put to flight by the Delhi army. Though Qamruddin, the wazir, was killed in action, yet it was his son Muinul Mulk who, by his courage and valour, secured a victory for the Mughals.[47] As a result of his excellent services, he was appointed the governor of the subahs of Lahore and Multan.[48] A better choice could not have been made in the circumstances. Since the subah of Lahore had suffered from internal strife ever since the death of Zakariya Khan, only an officer like Muin could provide peace and security to the troubled province.

The appointment, however, was not an act of unalloyed statesmanship. Safdar Jang, the new wazir, who led the faction of Irani nobles at the court, naturally desired to keep Muin away from the capital, lest he should aspire for the wizarat. It may be noted that this coveted office had been monopolized for a period of thirty years by a leading Turani family, to which Muin belonged. Safdar Jang's hostility to Muin seriously jeopardized the latter's efforts to strengthen the Mughal administration in the subah of Lahore.

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47 Tazkira, pp.271-285 ; Zafarnama-i-Muinul Mulk, pp.8-18 ; Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.5-9.

48 Zafarnama-i-Muinul Mulk, pp.21-22 ; Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, f.15a ; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, p.7 ; Siyar, III, p.864.

It may be remembered that the stern measures undertaken by Lakhpat Rai during the short regime of Yahya Khan, had forced the Sikhs to take refuge in the northern hills or the cis-Satluj plain of Malwa. Taking advantage of the conditions of civil war prevailing in the subah they returned in full force. Till then, they had adopted guerrilla tactics in their struggle ; they had fought numerous stray encounters against the imperialists in the remote areas of the countryside. But now they became audacious enough to construct a mud-fort near Ramsar, not far from the Hari Mandir.[49] Built in about two months, it had a two-yard wide foundation, numerous doors and towers, and a surrounding ditch. Since it was situated in the midst of cultivated fields, it was given the name of Ram Rauni. It was used for storing weapons as well as food-grains. It could provide shelter to about five hundred men at a time.[50] Probably, using this crude stronghold as a base for their activities, they made occasional plundering raids into the neighbouring parganahs and frequently clashed with the Mughal faujdars.[51] It is no wonder that as soon as he assumed the charge of his office, Muin engaged himself in raising troops in large numbers.[52]

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49 Gupta, H.R., History of the Sikhs, Vol.II, p.81.

50 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.325-326 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.162 ; Panth Prakash, pp.796-797.

51 Haqiqat, f.14a.

52 Tahmas Namah, p.45.

In one of the earliest measures, Muin deputed Kaura Mal, Adina Beg Khan, Aziz Khan, Nasir Ali and some hill chiefs to besiege the fortress of Ram Rauni. In order to ensure the success of the expedition, pieces of artillery were sent from Lahore. As the siege progressed, all communications of the besieged with the countryside were terminated. The garrison numbering 500 began to suffer from the scarcity of foodgrains, fodder and munitions. As such they were forced to adopt a new strategy ; they emerged out of the stronghold in small batches and made sudden attacks on the besiegers, in order to secure provisions and if possible, to kill them. In such trying circumstances, they received some measures of strength when Jassa Singh 'Tarkhan,' who had been in the service of Adina Beg Khan, threw in his lot with his co-religionists along with a hundred companions. As the defenders managed to resist all attempts to capture the fortress, it was reported that Ahmed Shah Abdali had invaded the country for the second time. The siege was raised immediately, for the provincial troops were needed to check the advance of the Afghan invader. The stores and baggage left behind by the imperialists fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Muin ordered Kaura Mal to befriend the Sikhs who could prove to be useful fighters against the Afghans. As a gesture of goodwill, twelve villages of Guru Chak were

attached to the fortress of Ram Rauni.[53] Thus, an attempt was made to conciliate the Sikhs so as to allow the provincial administration to contend with a more serious threat.

The second invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali took place towards the close of 1748. From Peshawar, he detailed Jahan Khan, a general of his to march in advance of the main army. At the ferry of Attock on the Indus, Jahan Khan was joined by a large number of Khattak tribesmen. As he crossed the various rivers on his way to Lahore, numerous zamindars along with their retainers joined the invaders.[54] Muin left Sayyid Ivaz Khan as his deputy in Lahore and led his troops out of the city to block the path of the Afghan army. Since his soldiers had not received their salaries for many months, Muin paid them out of his own treasure in order to secure their services. Marching north-wards, he encamped at Sodhra on the eastern bank of the Chenab, not far from Wazirabad, in the Upper Rachna Doab. He also sent fervent appeals to Delhi for assistance, which fell on deaf ears ; for he received neither the men nor the money. In fact, the wazir, guided by petty considerations rejoiced at the discomfiture of Muin.[55]

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53 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.326-329 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II p.163 ; Panth Prakash, pp.797-802 ; Kanhya Lal, op.cit., p.73.

54 Ganda Singh, Ahmed Shah Durrani, p.74.

55 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.18a-b ; Zafarnama-i-Muinul Mulk, pp.24-25.

Skirmishes commenced between the ar-mies, but no decisive encounter took place. Ahmed Shah Abdali continued to engage Muin's forces at Sodhra while he despatched Jahan Khan to ravage the environs of Lahore. The latter reached Shahdara on the Ravi about two kos from the city, but could advance no farther owing to an incessant artillery fire kept up by Sayyid Ivaz Khan. After devastating the country for two months, Jahan Khan returned to the main army.[56]

Tired of desultory warfare, both sides opened negotiations for peace, the initiative being taken by Ahmed Shah Abdali. Muin was represented by an experienced diplomat, Maulvi Abdullah who finalized the terms of agreement. The Afghan invader was promised the revenues of Chahar Mahal namely Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad, which amounted to fourteen lakhs of rupees a year. The settlement which was made with the approval of the Mughal emperor, stipulated that Nasir Khan, formerly the governor of Kabul, would govern these mahals and transfer their revenue to Kabul annually.[57] In this manner, the Afghan monarch 'got the first slice of India proper'.[58]

When Nasir Khan arrived to take over as the faujdar of Chahar Mahal, Muin received him with great kindness. The

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56 Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, I, p.129.

57 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, f.18b ; Tahmas Namah, p.51 ; Siyar, III, p.875.

58 Sarkar, J.N., Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol.I, p.263.

governor advised him to carry on the administration in an appropriate manner, so that with the revenues of the concerned districts, he was able to raise a well-equipped army. Muin further promised to install him, by ousting Ahmed Shah Abdali, as the governor of Kabul, which would then be re-annexed to the Mughal empire. But Nasir Khan was inclinded more towards the <u>wazir</u>, Safdar Jang, who (for reasons referred to earlier) left no stone unturned to create problems for Muin. The <u>wazir</u> instigated Nasir Khan to disrupt the administration of Muin, raise an army and occupy Lahore, and in return for this unholy service, he was offered the governorship of the <u>subah</u>. Nasir Khan became a willing instrument of the <u>wazir's</u> machinations. He managed to seduce 1000 Uzbeg soldiers from the governor's army on a promise of higher pay.[59]

When the disaffection of Nasir Khan became known, Muin marched to Sialkot along with Kaura Mal, Adina Beg Khan, Mir Mahdi Ali Khan, Bhikari Khan, Ghazi Beg Khan, Muhammad Momin Khan, Mir Niamat Khan etc. Nasir Khan divided his force in the following manner -- 3000 horsemen to attack the imperial <u>harawal</u> led by Khanjar Khan Kabuli and Mir Momin Khan, 2000 cavalry was deputed against Bhikari Khan and 1000 horsemen against Mahdi Ali Khan. On his part,

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59 <u>Tarikhi-Ahmed Shahi</u>, f.24b ; <u>Tahmas Namah</u>, pp.52.53.

Nasir Khan opened the attack on the bahir of Muin with 15,000 horsemen. But Kaura Mal and Mahdi Ali Khan retaliated in such a manner that the rebel force was dispersed. Nasir Khan fled to Delhi, accompanied by 800 horsemen and foot-soldiers. Muin despatched Sayyid Jamil Khan, Mir Momin Khan, Mir Niamat Khan to expel Nasir Khan across the Satluj.[60] Meanwhile, the governor took over the charge of chahar mahal.

Having failed to dislodge Muin through the agency of Nasir Khan, Safdar Jang chose Hayatullah Khan as the tool of his intrigues against him. The wazir not only secured for Hayatullah Khan the order of his appointment as the governor of Multan but also incited him to make preparations for the seizure of Lahore, to which he was entitled by right. By way of Lakhi jungle, Hayatullah Khan reached Multan, where he began to assemble an army. The Mughal troops who had deserted Muin to join Nasir Khan and who had retraced their steps, deserted once again to Hayatullah Khan. The latter also wrote to the Sikhs to puff up trouble in the subah of Lahore. Having prepared himself for an armed conflict, he informed Muin of his intention to visit his father's tomb at Lahore. Though, Muin was inclined to agree, his advisers expressed their reservations about the real intentions of Hayatullah Khan.

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60 Ganda Singh, Maharaja Kaura Mal Bahadur, pp.69-70.

When Muin asked Hayatullah Khan to come with a small escort, the latter threw off his mask and declared his ambition of occupying the province with the force of arms.[61]

It appears that the military resources of Muin had eroded during the previous campaigns. For, he allowed Kaura Mal to enlist the Sikhs as mercenaries in order to crush the pretensions of Hayatullah Khan. Kaura Mal, who had established friendly relations with the Sikhs since the siege of Ram Rauni, entered into an agreement with them on the issue. It was decided that a Sikh piyadah would be paid 8 annas per day, a sawar one rupee and a sardar five rupees. The Sikh contingent received an advance payment for two months.[62]

The punitive expedition which included 10,000 Sikhs,[63] was led by Kaura Mal and Ismat Khan, who had been the diwan and bakshi under Hayatullah Khan respectively. The two had been kept in prison by Muin for a short time until they were restored to favour. In the battle that took place near Multan, Hayatullah Khan fought

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61 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.25a-b ; Tahmas Namah, pp.56-57 ; Haqiqat, f.14b.

62 Prachin Panth Prakash, p.330 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p. 164 ; Panth Prakash, pp.803-804.

63 Ganda Singh, Maharaja Kaura Mal Bahadur, p.76.

with courage and wounded many imperialists with his own hands. But he was killed by a musket-shot, after which his followers took to flight. The administration of Multan was handed over to Kaura Mal. The Mughal soldiers who had deserted to Hayatullah Khan were taken back in service by Muin, through the intercession of Sayyid Jamiluddin Khan and Muhammad Said Khan.[64] On the recommendation of Kaura Mal, the Sikhs were assigned the revenues of the parganahs of Jhubal and Chunian, which amounted to 1.25 lakhs of rupees.[65]

The failure of Muin to transfer the revenues of chahar mahal (24 lakhs of rupees for three years) to Kabul -- a circumstance which he attiributed to the insurrection of Nasir Khan -- provided an excuse to Ahmed Shah Abdali to attack the subah of Lahore. Since Muin did not hope to receive any assistance from the centre in this exigency, too, geared up his limited resources as best as he could to face the Afghan invasion. On this occasion, too, he secured the services of the Sikhs, on a promise to pay the revenues of Parhol, Kathua, Basohli and Doon.[66] In a last ditch effort to stop Abdali at the Indus, Muin sent

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64 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.25a-b ; Tahmas Namah, p.58 ; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, p.8 ; Haqiqat, f.14b.

65 Prachin Panth Prakash, pp.330-331 ; Panth Prakash, pp. 804-807.

66 Prachin Panth Prakash, p.333 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.166 ; Panth Prakash, p.809.

an amount of nine lakhs of rupees to him. But it did not prevent the invader from penetrating into the subah. The panic created, as a consequence, was such that a number of wealthy citizens of Lahore fled to Delhi with their families. Even Muin sent his mother, wives and children to the hills of Jammu for safety. Meanwhile, the Mughal emperor wrote repeatedly to the wazir, Safdar Jang, about the threat to which the north-western provinces were exposed. But the wazir was too involved in the management of his own subah of Awadh, to attend to the needs of the empire.[67]

Ahmed Shah Abdali marched towards Lahore by way of Rohtas, Gujrat and Sodhra at the head of forty to fifty thousand Durrani, Qizilbash and Uzbeg soldiers. On his part, Muin emerged from his capital, crossed the Ravi to reach Shahdara and hastened to the bridge of Shah Daula on the Degh, twenty-two miles north of Lahore. The two armies stood facing each other ; they indulged in frequent skirmishing but avoided a full-scale battle. In a surprise move, Abdali left his camp intact, followed a circuitous course, crossed the Ravi and took position near the tomb of Shah Bilawal. Another Afghan army under Jahan Khan numbering 10,000 arrived near the garden of Faiz Bakhsh. Muin quickly retraced his steps and reached the Ravi at Rajghat. A detachment of 900 Mughals under Khwaja Mirza Khan succeeded

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67 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.30 a-b.

in ousting the Afghans from the garden and forced them to retreat towards Shalamar Bagh. Muin entered the city and busied himself in strengthening his arrangements of defence.

Henceforth, the struggle proceeded in a desultory fashion and prolonged into weeks and months. Having failed to draw out Muin from his entrenched position, the Afghans satisfied themselves by ravaging the countryside in a radius of forty kos from Lahore. In fact, the destruction was carried to such an extent that no lamp was lighted in any house for a distance of 3 marches. As a consequence, people began to suffer from the scarcity of grain.[68] Muin failed to decide on any coarse of action, for divided counsels prevailed in his camp. Bhikari Khan stood for peace at any price ; Kaura Mal favoured a final show-down after paying the promised sum to the soldiers, while Adina Beg Khan and Momin Khan constantly wavered between war and peace.[69]

At last, it was decided at the advice of Kaura Mal, to shift the imperial camp to a distance of five kos from the original site as it had begun to suffer from extremely unhygienic conditions. On 5 March 1752, the entire

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68 Tahmas Namah, pp.69-71 ; Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, II, p.166 ; Kanhya Lal, op.cit., p.75.

69 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, f.32a.

camp with Adina Beg Khan in the lead, Muin in the centre and Kaura Mal in the rear, moved to the proposed site. At this moment, the Afghans inflicted a full-blooded attack on Muin's army which was thrown into utter confusion. Kaura Mal was killed by a musket-shot, while Khwaja Mirza Khan and Sayyid Jamiluddin Khan were wounded. As the darkness of the night approached, the enemy started plundering the people as Muin's troops began to disperse. Without losing his compsure, Muin marched at the head of 10,000 soldiers towards the Idgah, where Adina Beg was supposed to have encamped. But this officer was nowhere to be found. Once again Muin engaged himself in making arrangements to defend the city. He posted experienced men at various positions, mounted guns on the bastions and tried to revive the sagging spirits of his soldiers.[70]

However, before the hostilities could recommence, the Afghan ruler invited Muin to his camp in order to reach a settlement. Disregarding the warnings of his advisers, and accompanied only by a few attendants, Muin presented himself before Ahmed Shah Abdali. The latter was greatly impressed by Muin's dignified bearing and bold speech. He addressed him as his son and presented him the very turban he was wearing. Muin also succeeded in securing the release of the prisoners of war. Returning

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70 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, f.32b ; Tahmas Namah, pp.72-74.

to the city, he collected a few lakhs of rupees and sent the amount to Ahmed Shah Abdali.[71] The subahs of Lahore and Multan were severed from the empire of Delhi and annexed to the Afghan kingdom, though it was stipulated that the Abdali would exercise no control over the internal administration of the two provinces, which would be governed as before by Muin on behalf of their new master. However, the Afghan king assumed the claim to the surplus revenues of the newly acquired possessions. The Mughal emperor had no alternative but to ratify the settlement.[72] But, at the request of Muin, Ahmed Shah Abdali stopped short of issuing coins in his newly acquired territories.[73]

Thus, the subah of Lahore was lost to the Mughal empire in March 1752. Muinul Mulk continued to govern it as the nominee of the ruler of Afghanistan till his death (4 November 1753) -- a period during which he was mostly engaged in punitive operations against the Sikhs.[74]

On 13 November 1752, the Mughal emperor, Ahmed Shah, appointed his three-year old son, Mahmud Shah,

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71 Tahmas Namah, pp.74-76 ; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, p.9.

72 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, ff.33a-b ; Delhi Chronicle, pp. 36-37 ; Siyar, III, p.889.

73 Tahmas Namah, p.76.

74 ibid., pp.77-80.

as the governor of Lahore and Multan. In a complementary decision, Muhammad Amin Khan, the two-year old son of Muin was made the deputy of the new governor.[75] These appointments were not only unprecedented and improper in themselves but also indicated that the Delhi government had given up the <u>subah</u> of Lahore for lost. However, after four days, the governorship of Lahore and Multan was assigned to the <u>wazir</u> Intizam-ud-Daula, the brother of Muin. On his part, the <u>wazir</u> appointed Mumin Khan and Bhikari Khan to deputize for him in the provinces.[76]

These appointments amounted to nothing for 'the reality of power lay elsewhere than at the imbecile court of Delhi'.[77] And this was known best to the two deputies at Lahore, who sent Haji Beg as their agent to Jahan Khan, then stationed at Hasan Abdal, in order to find out Ahmed Shah Abdali's decision in the matter.[78] The latter conferred (January, 1754) the governorship of the <u>subah</u> on Muhammad Amin Khan the infant-son of Muinul Mulk, with Mir Momin Khan as his Deputy. The actual work of the administration was to be carried out by the baby-governor's mother, Mughlani Begum, while all the officers of the

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75 <u>Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi</u>, f.85b.

76 <u>ibid</u>., ff.86b, 88b.

77 Sarkar, J.N., <u>Fall of the Mughal Empire</u>, Vol.I, p.276.

78 <u>Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi</u>, f.93b.

previous regime were to be retained. The Delhi government acquiesced in the change executed by the Afghan ruler, indicating once again that it had surrendered its rights over the subah.[79]

Though the infant-governor died after a period of four months, Mughlani Begum endeavoured to gather the reins of the government in her hands. But her profligate private life and complete dependence on the eunuchs in administrative matters, alienated the vetern officers who had served under Muinul Mulk. Three of them -- Bhikari Khan, Qasim Khan and Khwaja Mirza Khan -- tried, one after the other, to dislodge her, though without success. Also, she did not allow Mir Momin Khan, the governor of the subah appointed by Delhi (September 1754) to assert himself.[80] In April 1755, Ahmed Shah Abdali sent Aman Khan at the head of 10,000 troops to strengthen the position of Mughlani Begum. This Afghan agent punished the officers opposed to the Begum, plundered the city of Lahore and inflicted severe atrocities on the people. He installed Mughlani Begum as the governor of the subah with Khwaja Abdullah Khan as her deputy.[81]

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79 Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, f.IIIa ; Tahmas Namah, p.86 ; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, f.59b.

80 Tahmas Namah, p.90 ; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, f.60a.

81 Tahmas Namah, pp.97-99 ; Siyar, III, p.896.

Khwaja Abdullah Khan deprived the Begum of all authority and influence so that she appealed to Imad-dul-Mulk, the Delhi _wazir_, to restore her to position and dignity. She offered to give her daughter in marriage to the _wazir_, to whom she had been betrothed earlier. The _wazir_ accepted the appeal as well as the offer, for he saw in them the opportunity to recover the lost province for the Mughal empire. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1756, he left Delhi for Lahore along with Prince Ali Gauhar. However, at the advice of Adina Beg Khan, the _faujdar_ of Bet Jalandhar Doab, the _wazir_ did not proceed beyond Sirhind but despatched a contingent of two or three thousand troopers to join him. Adina Beg Khan sent them to Lahore under Sadiq Beg Khan, after having added another 10,000 to them. Realizing that his game was up, Khwaja Abdullah Khan fled to Jammu leaving the Begum in full control of the province. She sent her daughter Umda Begum, to the _wazir's_ camp with an escort of three to four thousand soldiers.[82]

The wazir was not inclined to leave the province in the hands of a woman of disrepute and one who had a record of treasonable association with Ahmed Shah Abdali. Therefore, he sent Sayyid Jamiluddin Khan with 10,000

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82 _Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani_, ff.66a,69a ; _Tahmas Namah_, pp. 104,105,109 ; _Siyar_, III, pp.897-898.

troops to Lahore. This officer arrested the Begum (march 1756), seized her property and sent her in captivity to Sirhind. Mir Momin Khan was once again installed as the governor with Sayyid Jamiluddin Khan as his deputy, who turned out to be a just and efficient administrator.[83]

As such, the <u>subah</u> of Lahore once again came into the hands of the Mughals. The occupation was, however, short-lived, for no effort was made to strengthen the defence of the north-western frontier. Khwaja Abdullah Khan who had been ousted from Lahore went to Qandhar and reported the explusion of Mughlani Begum, the nominee of Ahmed Shah Abdali at Lahore. The Shah sent a strong Afghan army with Khwaja Abdullah Khan to re-establish his control over the <u>subah</u>. The task was achieved without much difficulty (4 October, 1756). Jamiluddin Khan having failed to receive any assistance from Adina Beg Khan, evacuated the provincial capital. Khwaja Abdullah Khan once again took over the charge of the province as an agent of Ahmed Shah Abdali.[84] Thus came to an end the Mughal rule in the province.

Afterwards, the possession of the <u>subah</u> of Lahore was vigorously contested by various political entities --

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83 <u>Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani</u>, f.69b ; <u>Tahmas Namah</u>, pp.110-114 ; <u>Haqiqat</u>, f.15b ; <u>Siyar</u>, III, p.898.

84, <u>Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani</u>, f.80a ; <u>Tahmas Namah</u>, pp.115-116.

the Afghans, the Sikhs, the Marathas and, of course, Adina Beg Khan, the opportunist par excellence, who sought to carve out a kingdom for himself, subject to none. However, the Mughals who had guided the destiny of the province for a period of about two hundred years, were conspicuous by their non-participation in the struggle, having reconciled themselves to its loss.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the pre-Mughal era, Punjab (the region which constituted the subah of Lahore) rarely enjoyed peace and stability for any considerable period of time. The failure of the Sultans of Delhi to extend their north-western frontier upto the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandhar line allowed the Mongols, time and again, to prey on its economic resources and occupy substantial areas east of the Indus. Besides, such warlike tribes as the Khokhars and Gakkhars succeeded in establishing their sway, at various points of time, in the sub-montane tracts of the Rachna, Chenhat and Sind Sagar Doabs. It is true that the government centred in Delhi attempted, and quite often, to eliminate the forces which tended to weaken their grasp over the frontier province. However, the inadequacy of the governmental measures and the frequent dynastic changes at Delhi itself, precluded the implementation of a clear and consistent policy which could ensure peace and stability in this important region.

The condition of political uncertainty which prevailed in Punjab during the pre-Mughal times, produced a significant result -- the region could not be constituted into a single, compact and well-demarcated administrative unit. Though high ranking executive officers with vast

military and financial resources, were regularly stationed at Lahore, Multan, Dipalpur, Uch, Bhatinda, Samana and Hansi, yet the number of these administrative divisions (known as iqtas) placed under the charge of an officer, varied with each successive appointment.

The reestablishment and the subsequent consolidation of the Mughal rule in the greater part of northern India, paved the way for the enunciation and implementation of new principles of provincial administration, which proved to be sound as well as enduring. It was in the wake of these administrative reforms that the subah of Lahore was created in 1580 (along with eleven other provinces) as a clearly demarcated unit of administration. It was comprised of most of the flat alluvial plain situated between the Indus and Satluj, with the exclusion of Multan.[1] It was bounded on the north and north-east by chains of the low Siwalik and the high mountain ranges called Himalayas. The latter sheltered a number of petty and independent principalities, which were ruled over by Rajput chieftains. The subah was sub-divided into five sarkars, the boundaries of which were provided by the

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1 B.S. Nijjar's statement (Punjab Under the Great Mughals, p.106) that the Mughal province of Lahore coincided roughly with the province of Punjab under the British rule, is incorrect.

natural agency of the rivers, so that the area of a sarkar coincided with that of a Doab or interfluve. Though the small piece of land known as Birun-i-Panjnad, which contained the principality of Kahlur, lay on the south of the Satluj, it was attached to the subah for administrative purposes. It may be pointed out that barring the possibility of expansion of Mughal territories at the cost of the hill states, the external boundaries of the subah remained unaltered so long as it existed as an integral part of the Mughal empire.

Towards the closing decades of the sixteenth century, certain ominous developments -- the rise of Uzbeg imperialism under Abdullah Khan, the fluid conditions in Kabul following the death of Mirza Hakim, the Persian occupation of Qandhar, the turbulence of the Afghan tribes inhabiting the trans-Indus lands -- threatened to disturb the conditions of peace and stability of the entire north-western region and in particular, the subah of Lahore. In order to meet the situation, the emperor, Akbar, shifted his headquarters to Lahore, which became the imperial capital for the next fourteen years (1585-1598). A series of military, diplomatic and administrative measures, succeeded in bringing Kabul within the firm grasp of the Mughals, thwarting the imperialistic designs of Abdullah Khan Uzbeg over the various trans-Indus areas. With the occupation of Qandhar, the Mughals managed to extend their

north-western boundary to its scientific frontier. It was also during this period that Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan were annexed to the Mughal empire. In fact, all these achievements constituted the various links of a single but comprehensive imperialistic plan, which sought to secure the settlement of the entire north-western segment of the Mughal empire. Though the success of the Mughals against the Afghan tribes was only partial, yet the forces which had frequently generated political instability in the region during the pre-Mughal times, were overcome effectively. It was this success which paved the way for a long period of unprecedented peace and stability for the subah of Lahore. The city of Lahore, by virtue of its unique geographical position in the region served as the base for the spread of Mughal imperialism in the north-western part of the empire. The enviable position secured by the metropolis among the cities of the east, may be attributed, besides other factors, to the location of the imperial capital at this place for a decade and a half.

During the seventeenth century, the successors of Akbar frequently passed through the subah of Lahore, as and when they visited Kabul or Kashmir. Unlike Akbar, they did not station the imperial court at Lahore for any considerable period of time. However, this did not diminish

the importance of the subah in the eyes of the central government. Instead, it appears that the Mughal emperors, all through the seventeenth century, showed a keen interest in the internal matter of the subah. In fact, they allowed little initiative to the provincial officers, even in trivial issues. They made independent assessment of any problem that arose in the province ; they formulated and executed the policy devised to solve it. It was only with the decline of the imperial authority during the first half of the eighteenth century that the provincial administration was increasingly left to itself, even in matters which required central assistance. In consequence, it was provided with ample opportunity to display its possession (or lack) of strength, vigour and imagination in the solution of its problems.

The provincial administration was headed over by a governor who was usually a high-ranking noble and at times, a prince of the royal blood. The incumbents in this august office generally proved equal to the multifarious tasks assigned to them, as is evidenced by the relative peace and stability enjoyed by the Subah during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The alleged 'Corruption and treachery of the Punjab governors, the confusion and disorder of every kind that were rampant all over the province, and the cruelty, extravagance,

profiligacy and the vices being practised freely,'[2] is totally unwarranted on account of lack of supporting evidence from contemporary chronicles.

The new character assumed by the office of the governor during the first half of the eighteenth century, was too apparent to remain unnoticed. The incumbent became practically independent of all Central control, though he resisted the temptation of assuming royalty ; the office became not only hereditary in a leading Turani family, it remained in the hands of the holder for exceptionally long periods; the subah of Multan was placed under the charge of that of Lahore, for administrative purposes ; besides exercising control over the provinces under his charge, the the governor was called upon to defend the empire against the Persian and Afghan invasions. But it cannot be said for certain if these characteristics applied to other leading officers of the provincial administration.

Besides the governor, the most important provincial officer appears to have been the faujdar, whose jurisdiction might or might not coincide with a sarkar. His main function was to force, with the aid of an armed contingent, the refractory zamindars to fulfill their obligations to the government. In cases where he was designated as amin-faujdar,

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2 Nijjar, op.cit., p.76.

he was entrusted with the dual taks of maintaining law and order as well as supervising the collection of land revenue in a chakla -- a unit of administration which stood intermediate between a sarkar and a parganah, created in the twentieth regnal year of Shahjahan.

The appointment of Hindu officers, particularly at the chakla-level, was a significant feature of the provincial administration. In the pre-Aurangzeb period, an equal number of Muslims and Hindus seem to have been appointed. During the fifty one-year-long reign of Aurangzeb, the proportion of Hindus decreased to a mere fourteen per cent. However, it rose appreciably (to fifty five per cent) in the post-Aurangzeb period. It is worth-noting that these local officers, like the governor himself, held office for short durations of three or four years. It may also be pointed out that a number of Hindus held, on various occasions, the important office of the provincial diwan, throughtout the period under study.

Besides the well-known provincial officers working at various levels, the Mughal administration was served by the intermediary zamindars, who assisted in the collection of land revenue from the ordinary land-holders -- a service for which they were allowed various perquisites including a share in the revenue collection. The Ain-i-Akbari has enumerated the various castes- Jats, Rajputs, Afghans,

Khokhars, Gakkhars, Awans, Janjuhas etc. -- who held in heredity the rights of zamindari in the mahals of the subah of Lahore. Since the zamindars possessed substantial military resources in the form of mud fortresses in the countryside and armed retainers who usually belonged to their own caste-groups or clans, they could, without much ado, create problems for the provincial administration. However, it appears that during the later decades of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, the intermediary zamindars faithfully collaborated with the provincial adminstration. The contemporary writers have failed to provide any instance of recalcitrance on their part. Even during the first half of the eighteenth century, the intermediaries did not take advantage of the difficulties of the provincial administration, caused on account of Banda's ~~report.~~ revolt Instead, they were found to be aligned with the imperial interests. But, with the intensification of the agrarian crisis during this period, they were forced to rise in open revolt against the Mughals as is illustrated by the case of Isa Khan Manj, the Rajput zamindar of Tihara.

The plain area of the subah of Lahore was bounded on the north and north-east by a number of independent chiefdoms, the more important of which were Kangra, Mau,

Jammu and Kahlur. The military strength of each one of them rested on numerous impregnable forts perched on unapproachable mountain tops and surrounded by dense jungles. The independent existence of these states was viewed by the Mughals as a potent threat to the consolidation of its hold on the region. Therefore, a series of military operations were undertaken in the hills which resulted in reducing most of these states to a position of vassalage. But, the frequent attempts of the hill chiefs to overthrow the imperial yoke clearly showed that their allegiance could not be taken for granted. The Mughals, thereupon, devised a number of measures to deprive them of their 'fangs'. The entire hilly area, included in the subah, was divided into two faujdaris, namely Kangra and Jammu ; the officers who held these positions succeeded, to a great extent, in imposing the imperial control over the hill states. A number of their strongholds were either demolished or placed under imperial commandants called qiladars. Moreover, some of the hill chiefs received mansabs and served the Mughal administration in various capacities. There were chiefs who did not formally receive any mansab but collaborated with the imperialists in suppressing the neighbouring chiefs.

The subah of Lahore comprised of a vast alluvial plain, which had been fertilized, over the centuries, by the

floods of as many as six rivers. Its agricultural fertility had become proverbial. Producing two crops in a year, rabi (spring) and kharif (autumn), it yielded a variety of food-grains, fodders, lentils, oil-seeds and other commercial crops. Artificial irrigation involved the use of wells, the water being lifted by the agency of oxen or the more sophisticated device of the Persian-wheel. To certain extent, the upper portions of the Doabs were irrigated by a few canals, excavated by the provincial officers. A number of natural but seasonal streams served the same purpos e. Not-withstanding the farily extensive use of artificial means of irrigation, agricultural operations depended, to a large extent, on the forces of nature. For, such calamities as floods and droughts not only caused immense misery to the people but also forced the Mughal administration to undertake measures of relief. And these exigencies arose time and again.

The subah of Lahore did not lag behind in the production of non-agricultural goods. The most important of these were cotton fabrics, carpets, sugar, paper, weapons, leather-goods and rock-salt. They were produced at such urban centres as Lahore, Bajwara, Sultanpur, Sialkot, Wazirabad and Gujrat. The breeding of quality horses was also undertaken. By virtue of its unique geographical position, the city of Lahore emerged as the premier centre of commerce north of the imperial capital.

The metropolis was connected by roads with Delhi and Agra, Multan and Thatta, Kashmir, Kabul and Qandhar. Besides, river-borne trade (which was more economical than the over-land traffic) flourished between Lahore and Multan-Thatta as also between Lahore and the northern hills. The long period of peace and stability brought about by the Mughal rule, gave a great impetus to the movement of trade. However, it was adversely affected by the existence of numerous legal and illegal imposts borne by the merchants, the silting of the Indus leading to a substantial increase in the freight charges on over-land routes, and the political instability that prevailed during the eighteenth century, particularly in the countryside.

Since the subah possessed a considerable Muslim population, the city of Lahore and such town as Sialkot, Batala and Sultanpur emerged as centres of education, where knowledge of Islamic theology was imparted. Individuals engaged in writing of books or in teaching, received grants of madad-i-maash, in some cases. The students graduating from these seminaries were absorbed in the judicial and ecclesiastical departments of the Mughal administration. However, many of them took to the hazardous path of mysticism. The most outstanding of such scholars was Miyan Mir, under whose stewardship the Qadiriyya silsilah attained its zenith in the region. Since, his influence was confined only to the exculsive circle of his

disciples, he had nothing to offer to the common man. It appears that the ordinary Muslims found solace in paying periodic visits to the tombs and hospices of numerous saints who stood for heterodox religious practices. It was this category of mystics who, by virtue of their alleged power of working miracles, acquired a lot of popularity among people, including the Hindus. The latter embraced Islam in large numbers under their influence. The Muslim poets, who wrote mystical verses in the native language and who refused to be tied down to the narrow limits of Islam, appear to have endeared themselves to the common mass of people.

A number of religious places, dedicated to various dieties and sanctified by Hindu mythological beliefs, were found scattered all over the subah of Lahore. Fairs and festivals were held at these places on certain fixed days in a year. The most outstanding feature of the socio-religious life of the Hindus involved attending these celebrations and making offerings in order to achieve their mundane desires. The number of Hindus who followed the path of asceticism was little. Yet a number of ascetic establishments, which were not much different from the khangah of a Muslim mystic, were found in some parts of the subah. These ascetics, both Shaiva and Vaishnava, had carved out a place for themselves in the socio-religious

milieu, largely on account of their esoteric practices and capacity to work miracles.

The last to enter the socio-religious sphere were the Christian Fathers, who had been allowed to build a church and cemetry in Lahore, to start a school of Portuguese language, to preach their creed publicly and to acquire converts to their faith. They celebrated their festivals and took out processions in the metropolis -- occasions which attracted the curious non-christians by their pomp and glitter. They also succeeded in converting numerous low-caste Hindus to Christianity, besides some Muslims. The Christians, who were confined only to the city of Lahore, lived a precarious existence. For, they were handicapped by the conceit and arrogance of the Fathers, the excessive dependence on the goodwill of the government and the oppostion of the Muslims and Hindus to the proselytizing activities of the Fathers.

In ordinary circumstances, the social relations between any two religious groups were characterized by harmony and cordiality. But there was no dearth of hypcrites in every community, who tended to adopt uncompromising and irrational positions in religious matters, leading to fanticism and bigotry. They did not find it difficult to rouse the passions of their co-religionists for the purpose of asserting the superiority of their creeds. Such situations

arose time and again in the subah of Lahore, and raised unpleasant sectarian disputes which involved large sections of the population. In other words, the social tensions arose, in the main, from religious differences. However, these tensions were neither omnipresent nor a regular feature of the inter-community relations. For one thing, they were, to a large extent, an urban phenomenon ; the rural society being characterized by close economic ties, was more well-knit and remained free from such maladies. Moreover, these tensions were purely transitory in nature and therefore, failed to inflict any irreparable damage to the social fabric. The provincial administration, on its part, generally adopted a tough attitude towards such elements who were responsible for generating sectarian disputes.[3] But, there were instances when certain governmental measures created tensions between two communities.

The Sikh movement began, not unlike the nirguna Bhakti cult, as a protest against ritualism in religious matters imposed by the dominance of Brahmins, and the social inequalities perpertrated through the acceptance of caste as the basis of society. It stood for the oneness of God, the repetition of His nam and the

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3 Zakariya Khan, by stern action, prevented the Mullahs of Lahore from harassing the Hindus ; Tarikhi Saadat Javed, f.167b.

mediation of the guru. It sought to repudiate the institution of caste by the adoption of new institutions of sangat (congregation) and pangat (community kitchen). It rejected the existing religious texts, the path of asceticism and the mechanical observance of rituals. The manji system and the organisation of the masands contributed to the dissemination of the new ideas. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Sikhs came to possess their own religious scripture, a series of religious centres and a set of rituals. Obviously, the new socio-religious group was gradually moving towards and identity distinct from that of the Hindus and Muslims.

In principle, the doors of the Sikh community were open to all caste groups. But, it appears that in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Khatris constituted about half of the Sikhs, while the other half was made up of as many as fifteen castes. From then onwards, the numerical preponderance of the Khatris began to be displaced by the Jats, the yeomen par excellence. The latter had greatly improved their economic condition, having graduated from a pastoral to a agricultural economy. Since, they continued to be ranked low in the Hindu social system, they flocked to the banner of the Sikh Gurus, who had repudiated the institution of caste and had raised them to a status of importance. Their position was further strengthened with the adoption of the Jat cultural patterns in the wake of

the creation of Khalsa. Thus was paved the way for the domination of the Jats in terms of numbers, to the extent that the expressions, Sikh and Jat, became almost synonymous.

It may be pointed out that the conversion of the Jats to the Khalsa brotherhood was not en-block. Since, the intermediary zamindars (many of whom happened to be jats and held the position of the chaudharis in the villages) were benificiaries of the Mughal regime, they naturally preferred to stay away from the fold of the Khalsa, which had broken out into an open revolt against that regime. Significantly, their names as mentioned in the Sikh chronicles, do not possess the suffix 'Singh' which, on the other hand, was invariably attached to those who took up arms against them as well as the government.

The provincial administration was able to maintain complete law and order in the subah only so long as the jagirdars were able to collect revenues commensurate with their salaries, enabling them to maintain their contingents in full. With the precipitation of the crisis in the jagirdari system during the first half of the eighteenth century, the jagirdars failed to fulfill any of their obligations. The long-suffering (Jat) peasant-proprietors or primary zamindars, who had acquired strength and cohesion by enlisting in the ranks of the Khalsa, availed themselves of the opportu nity to turn the tables on their oppressors, in

particular the intermediary zamindars.[4] Zakariya Khan, no doubt, undertook stringent measures to crush the peasant revolt, with the aid of a large number of intermediary zamindars. But his control seems to have been confined to the city of Lahore. In the countryside, the peasant-proprietors, who had organised themselves into several small guerilla bands, set in motion a violent movement which resulted in the death of a large number of intermediary zamindars. The failure of the provincial administration to contain the movement of agrarian unrest, constituted one of the most important causes of the dissolution of the Mughal rule in the subah of Lahore.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the institution of monarchy lost much of its power and prestige, on account of the conspiratorial activities of the rival factions within the nobility. While Deccan and the eastern provinces repudiated their allegiance to Delhi, the Marathas laid their hands on Gujrat, Malwa and Bundel-Khand. Large chunks of the khalisa were appropriated by the Rohillas, Jats and Rajputs. Though the governors of the subah of Lahore continued to owe allegiance to the emperor, the central government could exercise little

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4 It may be rememberedthat the first ever armed clash of the militant Sikhs took place (1621) with a village Chaudhari and not the government troops.

control over the province. It not only allowed the provincial administration to face the Persian and Afghan invasions with meagre resources, if failed to intervenue effectively in the ugly situations which developed after the deaths of Zakariya Khan and Muinul Mulk. Apart from being apathetic, the central government appears to have adopted, on certain occasions, a downright obstructive attitude towards the provincial administration. No wonder, the cumulative effect of these unfavourable circumstances brought about the end of the Mughal rule in the subah of Lahore.

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a. Bibliographical Note

A study of the Mughal subah of Lahore is handicapped by the absence of such provincial chronicles as Mirat-i-Ahmadi and Mirat-i-Sikandari for Gujrat, Riyaz-us-Salatin and Baharistan-i-Ghaibi for Bengal, and Tarikh-i-Masumi for Sind. In the circumstances, one has to fall back on the well-known chronicles, pertaining to the reigns of successive Mughal emperors. The authors of these contemporary sources were not interested in the subah of Lahore as such, having conveniently overlooked the developments which were purely local in nature. The province attracted their attention only when it was visited by the emperors (on their way to Kabul or Kashmir) or when some important military campaign had to be undertaken in the north-western region.

Abul Fazl's Akbarnama, Abdul Qadir Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and Nizamuddin Ahmed's Tabakat-i-Akbari provide detailed accounts of the measures undertaken by Akbar, during the closing decades of the sixteenth century, to consolidate the Mughal rule in the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent. The memoirs of Jahangir,

Mutamad Khan's Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri & Khwaja Kamgar Husaini's Maasir-i-Jahangiri yield much information about the suppression of Khusro's revolt in the subah of Lahore, and the annexation of the premier hill state, Kangra. Copious information regarding the protracted and elaborate campaign, which resulted in the defeat of Raja Jagat Singh of Mau, is contained in Abdul Hamid Lahori's Badshahnama and Muhammad Saleh Kambo's Amal-i-Saleh. But Khafi Khan's Muntakhab-ul-Lubab and Saqi Mustaid Khan's Maasir-i-Alamgiri, yield information about Aurangzeb's measures against the Sikhs and their aftermath which is, by any means, insufficient.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the provincial administration in the subah of Lahore, was called upon to face unprecendented problems created by the Banda-led Sikhs, refractory zamindars and other free-booters. Contemporary evidence about these developments is found in the Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla, Asrar-i-Samadi, Iradat Khan's Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan, and Hadi Kamwar Khan's Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghta. These sources have been supplemented by the accounts of Khafi Khan, Gulam Husain Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan. The circumstances leading to the dissolution of the Mughal rule in the province have been brought out in Anand Ram Mukhli's Tazkira-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis', Abdul Karim Kashmiri's Bayan-i-Waqi, Tahmas Khan

Miskins' Tahmasnama and Ghulam Muhiuddin Khan's Zafarnama-i-Muinul Mulk. The utility of such anonymous works as Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shahi, Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani and Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Uruj-Firqah-i-Sikhan, for this period cannot be denied.

Sujan Rai Bhandari's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh may be regarded, without hesitation, as the most important source for a study of the Mughal subah of Lahore. For, it comes to our rescue, where the others have failed. It is true that a discussion on political events is not its strong point. But it gives a facinating description of the topography of the region (of which he was a native) with special reference to the river routes, the production of a number of non-agricultural goods at various urban centres, the fairs and festivals celebrated at the Hindu centres of pilgrimage, the mausoleums of numerous Muslim saints held in reverence by the various sections of the society. But for the wide range of information provided by the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, our knowledge of the Mughal subah of Lahore would have remained inadequate.

For a study of the contribution of the Muslims of the region to the spread of education, the development of Persian literature and the growth of the Qadiriyya silsilah during the sixteenth century, Abdul Qadir Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh is immensely useful. Similarly, much reliance can be placed on Dara Shikoh's treatise,

Sakinat-ul-Auliya, which contains a detailed biography as well as mystical practices followed by Miyan Mir and his disciples. Dabistan-i-Mazahab, the identity of whose author is a matter of controversy, is an indispensable source for the study of the religious practices of the various sects within Hinduism and Islam. Significantly, it is perhaps the only contemporary work in Persian, which yields some interesting, though brief, information about the Sikhs and their gurus.

Most of the European travellers have confined themselves, for obvious reasons, to the description of commercial centres, which were not far from the western and eastern coasts. Yet a few of them -- Pelsaert, De Laet, Manrique, Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci -- ventured to the north. They have provided a variety of information, though in numerous small and scattered bits, about the production of agricultural and non-agricultural goods, the means of transport, the condition of roads, the direction and stages of trade routes, the hazards of travelling, the imposts borne by the merchants etc. The official records called The English Factories in India supplement this evidence with the prices of various articles of trade, the cost of transporting goods over land and river routes etc.

The accounts of the Jesuits, which largely pertain to the early seventeenth century, describe the

establishment of Christianity in the city of Lahore, the patronising attitude of the Mughal government, the progress achieved in the form of converts, the celebrations of Christian festivals, the oppostion faced by the Fathers from non-Christians and the resultant tensions in the society.

No study of the Mughal subah of Lahore can be regarded as complete without taking into consideration the source materials available in the native language, that is Panjabi. It is strange that these sources have not been given the attention they deserve. The socio-religious principles enunciated and propagated by the Sikh gurus are contained in their sacred scripture, Adi Granth. The historical significance of Bhai Gurdas' Varaan lies in a long list, giving names and castes of men who entered the Sikh fold, from the early sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. Sohan Kavi's Gurbilas Patshahi VI refers, in detail, to the military encounters between the armed followers of Hargobind and the Mughals. Guru Gobind Singh's spiritual autobiography, entitled Bachhitra Natak, describes his struggle with the hill chiefs as well as the Mughal faujdars, posted in the hills.

The first half of the eighteenth century, particularly the post-Banda period, has been characterized as a period of violent struggle between the peasant-proprietors (a large section of whom had entered the ranks

of the *Khalsa*) and the intermediary *zamindars* who were acting in collaboration with the provincial administration. This important aspect of the history of the region is the focus of attention in Rattan Singh Bhangu's *Prachin Panth Prakash* as well as in two comprehensive works of Gyani Gian Singh, entitled *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* and *Panth Prakash*. It may, however, be pointed out that these sources have to be used with caution. For, they are interspersed with improbable, and even miraculous, happenings.

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